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A

VIEW

OF

THE NATURAL, POLITICAL,

AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

OF

IRELAND.

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A

VIEW

OF

THE NATURAL, POLITICAL,

AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

OF

IRELAND.

By THOMAS NEWENHAM, Esq.

AUTHOR OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE PROGRESS AND MAGNITUDE OF THE POPULATION OF IRELAND, &c.

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PREFACE.

UNDER a well eſtabliſhed government, exempt from popular controul, an accurate and comprehenſive knowledge of the various circumſtances of a country, on the part of thoſe who exerciſe the principal functions of the ſtate, does not appear to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, when the obedience of the people is the ſole, or paramount object of concern. To inſure that obedience, a due proficiency in the art of government is the chief, or, perhaps, the only requiſite. To promote the proſperity of a nation, a much more diverſified knowledge, than that of the mere ſtateſman, muſt unqueſtionably be attained.

Except in a country, where the nature of the ſyſtem of civil polity authoriſes public diſcuſſions of the conduct of individuals in power; where popular diſſatisfaction may be expreſſed with impunity; where the language of cenſure may ſafely be employed; where a ſpirit of reſiſtance to oppreſſive or arbitrary meaſures may eaſily be generated or rouſed; and where, conſequently, there exiſts a neceſſity of obſerving a conſiderable degree of deference to the prevailing ſentiments of the governed, a comparatively limited and imperfect knowledge, of the circumſtances of a country, will generally ſuffice for the proſecution of the buſineſs of government: human ingenuity ſeldom failing to diſſipate emergent embarraſſments; and the habitual craft of ſtateſmen uſually providing the means of reconciling the nation at large to almoſt any meaſure, or ſyſtem, whether the reſult of policy, or paſſion.

But to govern a country merely with a view to the obedience, or practical acquieſcence of the ſubject, undeniably betrays a total want of that

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laudable ambition, which ought to actuate thoſe who aſpire to govern; and a complete dereliction of that duty, which thoſe who require the political ſubmiſſion of others, cannot, without a demonſtrable violation of the recognized principles of right, decline to perform. That ambition and that duty do evidently concur in demanding a ſedulous purſuit of meaſures, conducive to the internal felicity, the vigour and proſperity of a country: and ſuch meaſures do obviouſly require a thorough previous knowledge of all its various circumſtances.

Among thoſe who are entruſted with the chief management of public affairs, in an independent country, it is to be preſumed, that a due knowledge of the circumſtances of that country is rarely wanting; however incongruous with that knowledge their meaſures may frequently be. But this attainment alone, ſuperadded to profeſſional competency, is not, in all caſes, ſufficient to enable the ſtateſman to purſue that courſe which his appropriate duty and ambition preſcribe. When other countries are dependant on, or connected with that in which his ſphere of action lies; but eſpecially when an empire has been formed by the union of two diſtinct kingdoms, and, with reference to real value, to the various means of national ſtrength, that kingdom which has relinquiſhed the power of legiſlation approximate that in which the ſupreme authority reſides, a comprehenſive and accurate knowledge of the circumſtances of the former becomes, manifeſtly, as neceſſary an acquiſition, towards promoting the proſperity of the empire, as a ſimilar knowledge of thoſe of the latter: the proſperity of an empire, thus conſtituted, being evidently proportionate to the conjunct proſperity of its conſtitutent parts; not to that of either alone. Without ſuch knowledge, meaſures reciprocally beneficial to both parts, and thus ſpecifically eligible, will ſeldom be deviſed; while others may poſſibly be adopted, pregnant with much immediate benefit to the principal part of the empire; but perhaps ſo detrimental to the inferiour one, as to occaſion, ultimately, a diminution of imperial proſperity, which no partial benefit, of whatever magnitude, may, upon the whole, ſufficiently counterbalance. But as thoſe who aim at the chief management of public affairs, are probably, for the

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moſt part, impreſſed with a perſuaſion, that a thorough knowledge of the circumſtances of the principal part of the empire is an eſſential and primary qualification whereon to ground their pretenſions; while an equal knowledge of thoſe of the other conſtituent parts thereof is likely to be regarded as a ſecondary or ſupervenient acquiſition, there ſeems ſufficient room for ſuſpecting, that ſtateſmen, at leaſt on their entrance into office, are far from being ſo generally in poſſeſſion of the latter, as of the former. And though their means of information may be ſubſequently enlarged, yet the original impreſſion, juſt noticed, will probably, in moſt inſtances, divert them from employing theſe means, to the utmoſt, in digeſting and proſecuting a ſyſtem of ſalutary meaſures in behalf of the inferiour part of the empire, unleſs its actual or approaching condition render it an object of extraordinary concern.

In addition to the incidental opinions of eminent men, in different ages, contributing to create high ideas of the real value of Ireland, ariſing from its tranſcendant phyſical advantages, a competent number of hitherto unnoticed facts, and authentic public documents may be employed to ſhow, that the actual and potential value thereof, as a conſtituent member of the Britiſh Empire, are ſufficient to excite as great a degree of ſolicitude for its proſperity, among thoſe who preſide over public affairs, as ſeems to be habitually experienced for that of Great Britain herſelf; and a much greater degree than ordinarily prevails in behalf of the proſperity of other parts of the Britiſh dominions.

The eaſtern poſſeſſions of Great Britain are confeſſedly valuable, in a high degree; ſo alſo are her poſſeſſions in the weſtern parts of the world. But, conſidered as ſources of imperial ſtrength, they are, indiſputably, upon the whole, inferiour to Ireland. The ſupplies, drawn from the former, may appear, to certain deſcriptions in the Britiſh community, far more deſirable than thoſe which are drawn from the latter. But if the view be diſintereſtedly extended to the whole aggregate of the real means of imperial energy, it will, doubtleſs, be acknowledged, that the ſupplies of the eaſt, and thoſe of the weſt, induſtriouſly augmented to the utmoſt, muſt ever fall infinitely

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ſhort of thoſe which Ireland, if wiſely and ſolicitouſly governed, might become capable of yielding. The proſperity of her eaſtern ſettlements, and of her weſtern colonies may decline; yet Great Britain may thrive. Theſe diſtant dependencies may even ceaſe to be parts of the Britiſh dominions; yet Great Britain and Ireland, firmly united, ſagaciouſly and impartially governed, with all their various ſources of wealth and ſtrength fully diſcloſed, and ſkillfully improved, may ſtill conſtitute a flouriſhing and unvanquiſhable empire. But if the proſperity of Ireland be ſuffered to decline, Great Britain, whatever others may think, will hardly find an adequate compenſation for the effects of that declenſion on her own proſperity. If the real value of the former be not practically evinced, the Britiſh Empire, as a belligerent power, will ever appear in a paralyſed condition, to all who can diſcern, and juſtly eſtimate its native means of ſtrength. And if ever Ireland, unfortunately, ceaſe to be an integral part of that empire, Great Britain will probably ſoon ceaſe to be an independent nation: or, at leaſt, to uſe the words employed by Davenant, on the ſame ſubject, a hundred years ago, and when the ſtate of Europe was much more favourable to the individual exiſtence of England, as an independant nation, than it now is, "the ſum of affairs will be in danger."

The proſperity of a country which annually purchaſes manufactures from Great Britain, and rude produce from her colonies, to the amount of eight millions ſterling; and which may acquire the means of purchaſing infinitely more—of a country which now begins to ſupply Great Britain annually with near one million barrels of grain; and with other neceſſary proviſions to the amount of upwards of three millions ſterling; and which certainly might, with vaſt advantage to both countries, be rendered competent to ſupply as much as Great Britain could require — of a country from whence the ſeamen of the empire are chiefly fed — of a country whereof the trade now annually employs 1,200,000 tons of Britiſh ſhipping, yielding to their owners near two millions ſterling; and which might give employment to a vaſt additional number — of a country from whence two millions of money, at leaſt, are annually drawn by abſentees reſiding in

in England; and whereof the expenditure conduces to ſwell the public revenue of the latter, and to give extraordinary encouragement to the induſtrious therein — of a country which adds near ſix millions to the revenue of the empire; and which, unqueſtionably, might be made to add, at, no diſtant period, as much more — of a country actually encumbered with a public debt, amounting to upwards of ſeventy millions; and for the greater part of which Great Britain is reſponſible — of a country which muſt, yearly, remit two millions, in the ſhape of intereſt, &c. to public creditors in Great Britain; and which probably may be obliged to remit at leaſt one-fourth more — finally, the proſperity of a country which furniſhes at leaſt 100,000 hardy and intrepid ſoldiers and ſeamen, for the defence of the empire; and which, with a rapidly increaſing population, might fairly be expected to furniſh, if requiſite, many, many thouſands more*, ought ſurely to excite a much greater degree of ſolicitude, on the part of the miniſters of the crown, than the proſperity of any, or perhaps of all the foreign appendages of Great Britain: nay, as great a degree of ſolicitude as the proſperity of Great Britain herſelf can be deemed to demand.

That every addition to the wealth of Ireland muſt, eventually, operate in augmenting that of England, is a truth which has long been received as indiſputable among intelligent men; and which a multitude of ſubſtantial facts conduce to place beyond the ſphere of controverſy. The different manufacturers, the merchants and the ſhip-owners of the latter have already had ample practical proofs of it. To promote, therefore, the proſperity of Ireland, is, in effect, the ſame thing as to promote that of England. In truth it might ſafely be affirmed, that, under exiſting circumſtances, a ſpirit of induſtry and enterpriſe ought to be much more munificently encouraged in the former than in the latter. In Ireland that ſpirit is ſtill in its infancy: in England it has acquired ſufficient ſtrength. Every natural advantage of England has been rendered productive: many of the natural advantages

* The reader is referred to the tables in the Appendix, for a confirmation of the truth of ſeveral of the foregoing aſſertions.

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of Ireland ſtill remain in a comparatively unproductive ſtate. Ireland is, as yet, far from that point of internal improvement and proportionate national wealth which England has reached. Capitals may be actually employed with much greater profit in the former, than in the latter; and conſequently with greater effect in augmenting the general wealth of the empire.

But there is another conſideration, and one of a very momentous nature, namely the tranquillity of Ireland, which ſeems peculiarly calculated to perpetuate an unremitting anxiety in behalf of its proſperity, among the efficient ſtateſmen of the empire; and which, it is hoped, will no longer prove abortive. The ſtrength, indeed in times like the preſent, the very ſtability of the Britiſh empire incontrovertably requires the permanence of tranquillity in Ireland. If a ſpirit of induſtry be aſſiduouſly cheriſhed, and liberally ſuccoured therein; and if the Iriſh people be invariably governed in prudent conformity with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, diſaffection can never be dangerouſly prevalent among them. For what can Iriſhmen deſire beyond a full participation of the proſperity of Great Britain; a full participation of the political benefits which Britons enjoy; a participation of the ſplendour, renown, and incolumity of the Britiſh empire? Ambitious and turbulent men may have other aims: but the good ſenſe of an overwhelming majority of the Iriſh people will aſſuredly teach them to appreciate theſe enjoyments juſtly; and thus effectually fruſtrate the endeavours of thoſe who would alienate them from Great Britain. On the contrary, if the proſperity of Ireland be inconſiderately diſregarded; if the projects of deſigning men be thus incautiouſly facilitated; the leaſt evil that can happen, is that which has already been experienced, the appropriation of a vaſt military force to the preſervation of Ireland, which, under more prudent management, under the impulſe of more becoming principles, might elſewhere be employed, with perhaps incalculable effects; and which, in the year 1799, equalled the whole effective and diſpoſable native military force of Great Britain, during the height of the laſt American war.

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Whatever may have been the ſecondary or adventitious objects of thoſe who projected the incorporation of the Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures, it muſt, in candour, be preſumed, that the principal and ultimate ſcope of their endeavours to accompliſh this arduous and hazardous undertaking, was that prodigious invigoration of the Britiſh empire, which was likely to enſue from diſcloſing and rendering adequately productive its various ſources of wealth and ſtrength, and from a complete removal of the ground of that jealouſy, which had long impeded, and ſtill threatened to impede the growth of Iriſh proſperity; but which deſirable invigoration, could not, in the opinions of many, be thus effected, ſo long as the Legiſlatures of the ſiſter kingdoms remained diſtinct, without endangering the permanence of that connection, between them, whereof the preſervation may be conſidered as the higheſt duty of a Britiſh ſtateſman. And, certainly, if this reputed object be not thus attained, Britons will have very little reaſon to admire the union as a ſpecimen of conſummate political ſagacity; and Iriſhmen will have ample ground for diſſatisfaction. If additional vigour be not diffuſed through the Britiſh empire by a perfect conſolidation of its conſtituent parts; if its reſources be not explored and improved; if the vaſt natural advantages of Ireland be not more productively employed in the augmentation of national wealth than heretofore; if the grievances and exigencies of the Iriſh people be ſlighted and neglected, while the petitions of turbulent, ignorant, and probably inſtigated operative manufacturers are deemed worthy of the conſideration of the Legiſlature; if the intereſt of the Iriſh nation be, in a ſignal manner, precipitately, and without due examination *, ſacrificed to that of Weſt India planters, merchants and mortgagees, whoſe accidental diſtreſſes the Legiſlature ought, no doubt, to relieve both promptly and effectually, but ſurely not at the ſole expenſe of a country to which the foſtering aid of government has not been habitually extended, and which has, unqueſtionably, a ſingularly well-founded claim thereon; if the conduct of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, towards

* See Reports of the Committee on the diſtillation from molaſſes.

Ireland,

Ireland, continue to exhibit a tiſſue of neglect, partiality, and error, the union will ſurely be regarded, by all reflecting and unbiaſſed men, as a vain, illuſive, nugatory, and even miſchievous meaſure: nay, it is not unlikely that a diſpoſition to manifeſt their diſſatisfaction, during ſome future interval of perplexity, remiſſneſs or debility on the part of government, may at length become general among the people of Ireland. But neglect of Ireland, partiality to Great Britain, or its dependencies, and a ſeries of errors, ſome perhaps of a fatal nature, muſt conſtantly be apprehended, ſo long as an imperfect knowledge of the circumſtances of the former, or an indiſtinct perception of its real value, ſhall prevail among thoſe who conduct the affairs of the empire, or thoſe of whom its Legiſlature is compoſed.

To ſuſpect a deficiency of due knowledge, with regard to the circumſtances of Ireland, on the part of the principal miniſters of the executive power, may appear extremely preſumptuous in an individual who has few opportunities of aſcertaining the extent of their information. Such a ſuſpicion, however, ſeems not altogether unwarrantable. A knowledge of theſe circumſtances, is probably not one ofthoſe attainments to which His Majeſty's miniſters are indebted for their elevation. With the exception of parliamentary documents, which are generally confined to financial and commercial ſubjects, and, moreover, unſatisfactorily limited, the different quarters to which the public may reſort, for a knowledge of the circumſtances of Ireland, furniſh, individually, but little of an authentic and diverſified nature. And the additional means of information which the miniſters of the crown may enjoy, namely, the occaſional communications of intelligent Iriſhmen in the ſervice thereof, are certainly not always to be relied on for comprehenſiveneſs or fidelity. His Majeſty's miniſters, it is ſtrongly to be ſuſpected, have, on ſeveral occaſions, been miſled, with regard to the affairs of Ireland, by Iriſhmen, in public ſtations, perſonally intereſted in the practice of miſrepreſentation. And ſome reaſon appears to have been recently afforded, for a perſuaſion, that, in conſequence, probably, of a pre-exiſting comparative indifference in reſpect of the welfare, of Ireland,

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Ireland, originating, on the part of miniſters, in unſuitable notions of its real value and importance, the ſuggeſtions of official perſons, thoroughly converſant in the ſtatiſtical circumſtances thereof, fail to influence the deciſions of the cabinet, when meaſures involving the intereſts of the Iriſh people are the ſubjects of deliberation. The late laudible oppoſition of the Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer, to the extenſion to Ireland of the prohibition to diſtil from grain, gives ſtrength to an opinion, that either his colleagues are much leſs acquainted with the local peculiarities of Ireland than he is; or leſs ſolicitous in behalf of its proſperity.

But whatever be the caſe with the principal ſervants of the crown, it is certain that a very ſcanty, vague, and ſuperficial knowledge of the circumſtances of Ireland, and opinions the moſt erroneous, reſpecting ſome of them, are actually prevalent both among the Britiſh members of the Imperial Parliament, and among intelligent and otherwiſe well informed individuals unconcerned in the buſineſs of legiſlation: and the fact affords matter of conſiderable regret; inaſmuch as, under a conſtitution like ours, the advancement of the welfare of Ireland, evidently affecting that of the empire, might almoſt as reaſonably be ultimately expected from a diffuſion of a correct knowledge of theſe circumſtances, among the members of the Legiſlature, and among men of talents and capital, in private life, as among the miniſters of the executive power.

Indeed this general want of accurate and genuine information, reſpecting the circumſtances of Ireland, among the people of Britain, is not much to be wondered at. When ample and ſatisfactory information, on any particular ſubject, cannot be acquired without laborious reſearches, the purſuit thereof will naturally be relinquiſhed by all, but thoſe whom powerful motives ſtimulate to perſevere. Unleſs ſuch motives operate, unleſs there be ſome ſtrong inducement to exertion, men will, in general, content themſelves with caſual additions to their knowledge, or ſuch information as they may happen to obtain while in queſt of amuſement. But motives ſufficiently forcible to impel individuals to proſecute the laborious taſk of collecting a varied maſs of authentic information, reſpecting Ireland, do not, at preſent, appear to influence any claſs or deſcription of perſons in the Britiſh

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community. Ireland has not, as yet, become a principle theatre for the exertions of enterprising Britons; nor does a perfect knowledge of its circumstances appear to be requisite either to celebrity or advancement in the political world. And there is no single work extant, qualified to convey the diversified information in question to those who, with a view to amusement, might be disposed to devote a few leisure hours to the attainment of it: nor indeed are the different works and documents, from which alone it can be extracted, within the reach, generally speaking, of those few who might be urged, by some effective consideration, to undertake the troublesome research.

To the writings of travellers, those who seek a knowledge of the circumstances of a country, through the medium of amusement, usually resort: and from these writings, much valuable information has undoubtedly been derived. Mr. Young's account of his tour through Ireland, in the years 1776-7-8, certainly contains a very considerable body of real information; and may be consulted with advantage. But Ireland has, in some respects, undergone a great change since Mr. Young wrote. Besides his chief researches being professedly directed to the geoponic circumstances, or rural economy of Ireland, his account cannot fairly be expected, nor will it be found to yield the requisitely extensive information; though considerably illustrative of several interesting subjects. It must, moreover, be observed, that the work in question is comparatively destitute of those attractions, which are not wanting to some others of infinitely inferiour merit; and is therefore by no means so likely to be generally perused.

As for the accounts of those British tourists, who hie through *the land of potatoes*, with a degree of celerity extremely commendable in a King's messenger or a Bow-street officer, but somewhat unfavourable to the acquisition of circumstantial and accurate information, the writer trusts he will escape being accused of an unbecoming wish to detract from their respective merits, when he insists on this solitary fact, that however they may amuse one reader, by anecdotes, bon mots, or repartees, collected, it matters not when, or by whom, among a lively, jocose, and ready witted people; or however they may interest another reader, by elaborate descriptions

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tions of the lake and river ſcenery of Ireland, and its mouldering monuments of former times, they are, not only almoſt utterly barren of every ſpecies of authentic information, calculated to engage the attention of the ſtateſman, the moraliſt, the political economiſt, or the merchant; but have, in ſome inſtances, a manifeſt tendency to create the moſt unſuitable notions of the value of Ireland. Thus when lack-leiſure touriſts, perhaps ſufficiently qualified to penetrate, diſcriminate, and appreciate juſtly, haſtening to view the various beauties of the lake of Killarney, the river and harbour of Cork, the rivers Blackwater, Nore, and Boyne, the Dargel, the bay of Dublin, the ruins of Kilmallock, Caſhel, and Adair, and that extraordinary natural curioſity, the Giant's-cauſeway, confine their accounts of the interjacent country to obſerving, that ill-fenced paſtures overgrown with weeds, gloomy bogs, fields of corn, potatoes and flax, exhibiting, for the moſt part, ſtriking evidences of wretched culture, diſtant mountains, rocks, innumerable mud-wall cabins ſwarming with children and ſwine, and interſperſed with miſerable whiſkey ſhops, alternately weary the traveller's eye, their readers certainly cannot find much ground for conſidering Ireland as a moſt valuable part of the Britiſh empire. The caſe however would probably be ſomewhat otherwiſe, if, inſtead of briefly enumerating theſe unintereſting objects, the touriſts were prepared to enlarge on them, even ſo far as to ſay, that the weedy paſtures of Ireland, generally ſpeaking, furpaſs, in point of natural fertility, the richeſt in England, yielding, annually, a ſurplus produce for exportation, worth conſiderably more than two millions ſterling: that the bogs are convertible, for the moſt part, into meadows of unrivalled luxuriance, merely by draining, and the ſuperinduction of thoſe incomparable natural manures which are generally found beneath them: that the corn-fields of Ireland annually furniſh a ſurplus produce little ſhort of one million of barrels, for the market of Great Britain, from whence Ireland, with one half the people it now contains, was formerly ſupplied with corn: that the general uſe of potatoes has eminently contributed to augment the rental of the country, which cannot, at this day, be truly eſtimated at leſs than fifteen millions: that the flax raiſed in Ireland, when prepare for the hackle, is annually

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worth much more than two millions ſterling *: that the mountainous diſtricts abound in various minerals: that the rocks which, in ſome parts of Ireland, give ſo rugged an aſpect to the country, conſiſt chiefly of excellent limeſtone; and contain a vaſt variety of the moſt beautiful marbles: that the mud-wall cabins of Ireland are far from being uniformly the abodes of poverty: that the population of the country is in many diſtricts ſurpriſingly denſe; and has increaſed with much greater rapidity than that of any other country in Europe: that the exported ſurplus of pork, bacon, lard, and ſwine annually exceeds in value one million ſterling: and that the revenue actually ariſing from the ſpirits diſtilled in Ireland, and amounting to upwards of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, is greater than the whole revenue of many a ſovereign prince; and equals the joint produce of all the branches of the Iriſh revenue five-and-twenty years ago. And if, in addition to the foregoing facts, theſe tour-writers, inſtead of tritely expatiating on the romantic ſcenery of the Iriſh lakes and rivers, and the grand ſpectacle which the bay of Dublin preſents, were prepared to ſpeak of the advantages which Ireland poſſeſſes in reſpect of internal navigation, and of the numerous harbours with which its coaſt is indented, they would, at leaſt, conduce to furniſh intelligent men with materials for making a juſt eſtimate thereof; and be inſtrumental in diffuſing more preciſe and juſter notions of its real value than thoſe which ſeem current in Britain. But it has unfortunately happened that, with the exception of Mr. Young, thoſe who have written accounts of their tours through Ireland, have travelled merely with a view to pleaſure, buſineſs or health; and have neither had ſufficient leiſure, nor inclination to make themſelves thoroughly acquainted with the circumſtances of the country. So inconſiderable, indeed, are the pains which they appear

* According to the report of Mr. Duffin, inſpector-general of the linen manufacture, the flax-ſeed ſown, in the year 1806, was adequate to the production of as much flax as would be worth 2,404,612l. 10s. when prepared for the hackle. By referring to the Appendix, and to the different documents introduced into the following pages, the reader will find the preceding and ſucceeding remarks fully ſubſtantiated.

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to have taken to collect useful information, that one might almost be tempted to suspect them of having had no other object in view, in publishing accounts of their tours, than that of reimbursing themselves for the expenses of travelling; well aware that works, which promise amusement to the idle and superficial, will be purchased with avidity, while those which aim at instruction alone may remain unsold.

An instance of the unobserving and unprofitable manner in which tours through Ireland are usually made, lately fell within the personal knowledge of the writer. In company with a few pleasant friends, he made an excursion, last summer, to the western part of the county of Cork, and through a very considerable district which Mr. Young does not appear to have visited. The object of his companions was pleasure. And luckily the grandeur of the bay of Bantry, the romantic scenery of the harbour of Glangaruff, and the polite and affectionate reception which we experienced from our amiable and worthy friends, Lords Carberry and Bantry, afforded them as much as they could reasonably have expected. As for the country through which we passed, it appears to have had the opposite effect. Its aspect was, in their opinions, wild, dreary, and uninteresting; and they seemed to think that there were no other words, by which, with equal propriety, it could be briefly described. The country was certainly, for the most part, destitute of trees, and comparatively so of gentlemen's country seats. Nay, it might fairly be pronounced deficient in all those objects, which constitute the rural beauties of England. But how far the writer's friends were warranted in considering it as dreary, wild, and uninteresting, in employing epithets calculated to convey the idea of a barren, desolate country, the reader will be sufficiently enabled to judge from the following facts. Above three-fourths of the road we travelled lay through a district exhibiting a much more dense rural population, than almost any district of similar extent in England. The common people were better housed and better clad than is generally the case in the provinces of Munster or Connaught. They were every where industriously engaged in tillage, and in the manufacture of a coarse kind of linen cloth, called vitry, for the London market. Unendowed schools, crowded with children, were found in every parish. The lower

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claſs of people, for the moſt part, ſpoke the Engliſh as fluently as the Iriſh language. The towns were thriving and enlarging. And there certainly were not five acres in five hundred uncultivated *.

Thus much for the information which mere touriſts afford.

In ſome of the modern books of geography, ſeveral of the circumſtances of Ireland are not unfaithfully repreſented. But theſe repreſentations are too much epitomized; too limited; blended with incorrect repreſentations of the preſent, and vague ones of the former condition of the country; and do not appear ſufficiently ſubſtantiated.

From the reports of the debates in Parliament, very little information, of the nature in queſtion, has as yet been, or ſeems likely to be, obtained. The Britiſh members, conſcious perhaps of poſſeſſing no other than an extremely defective and uncertain knowledge of the various circumſtances of Ireland, ſeem to avoid, rather than provoke diſcuſſions of Iriſh affairs. And it is certain, that, however great the abilities, and extenſive the information of ſeveral of the Iriſh members, their ſpeeches have hitherto failed to diffuſe that diverſified knowledge which might reaſonably have been expected from them. In truth, it would not be impoſſible to glean, from among them, ſeveral miſtatements, reſulting either from intention, or a circumſcribed knowledge of facts; and tending to confirm ſome of the falſe opinions prevalent in Britain. The diſcuſſion of the late expedient, for relieving the Weſt India planters, preſented a moſt favourable opportunity for developing ſome of the leaſt known, but not the leaſt important, of the interiour circumſtances of Ireland. Yet three Iriſh members, only, appear to have partaken in the debate, Mr. Foſter, Mr. Ponſonby, and Sir John Newport. And though theſe gentlemen are univerſally and truly allowed to poſſeſs great abilities, and very extenſive information, in different lines, their printed ſpeeches, certainly contributed but very little, if at all, to enlarge the knowledge of the Britiſh public with regard to Ireland. In truth, parliamentary diſcuſſions rarely afford opportunities for illuſtrating any

* The reader will find a ſtatiſtical account of a conſiderable part of this diſtrict, in No. XXII. in the Appendix.

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other than the actual political and financial circumſtances thereof. To other ſources, therefore, recourſe muſt be had, for that comprehenſive information, of which the writer, in common with many of his countrymen, is deſirous to find authoritative and intelligent individuals, in Great Britain, poſſeſſed.

From the writings of Smith, Beaufort, Boate, Rutty, Hamilton and others of the ſame claſs, and alſo from the tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy, much information may be obtained, reſpecting many of the natural circumſtances of Ireland. But notwithſtanding the acknowledged merit of theſe writers, eſpecially Smith and Beaufort, the inquirer, after peruſing them all, will ſtill have much to learn. With regard to ſeveral of theſe circumſtances, the agricultural condition of different parts of Ireland, and various other matters of an intereſting nature, a vaſt ſupply of genuine and valuable information may be drawn from Mr. Young's account of his tour; and from the ſeventeen ſtatiſtical ſurveys of counties, lately publiſhed, under the auſpices of the Dublin ſociety. But as thirty years have elapſed ſince Mr. Young wrote, and as theſe ſurveys are far from being equally ſatisfactory, and not yet ſufficiently numerous, the curious inquirer, even with regard to their appropriate ſubjects alone, muſt extend his reſearches ſtill further.

To gain preciſe and unſophiſticated information, in reſpect of the more prominent events which diſtinguiſh the Iriſh annals, a clear inſight into their remote and latent cauſes, and a diſtinct view of all their contemporary circumſtances and natural reſults, will be found to require much patient inveſtigation. The hiſtorical accounts of Ireland have, for the moſt part, been written under ſtrong inveterate prejudices and biaſes, perpetually operating, in ſome ſhape or other, to the preclufion of truth; and cannot, therefore, generally ſpeaking, be, with ſafety, individually relied on. From the writings of Davies, Strafforde, Clanrickard, Warner, M'Geoghegan, Cox, Currie, Harris, Leland, Bourke, O'Halloran, Petty, Temple, Clarendon, Boulter, Swift, and Molyneux, a ſufficiently copious maſs of correct information to a modern period, may be obtained. But ſeveral of theſe writings muſt be diligently collated, and employed to throw light

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on each other. The acts and journals of the Iriſh Parliament muſt alſo be examined. After all, the inquirer will riſk the adoption of wrong opinions, concerning the origins, views and principles of Iriſh parties, and the concurrent cauſes of late political events, unleſs he has either been perſonally converſant in the more recent affairs of Ireland; and accuſtomed to ſcrutinize public meaſures, and the conduct of public men, with an unprejudiced mind; or will engage in the irkſome taſk of reading the numerous contradictory repreſentations which have iſſued from the Iriſh preſs, within the laſt thirty years.

On that important ſubject, the trade of Ireland, very little has, as yet, been written. Lord Sheffield's "Obſervations," publiſhed in the early part of the year 1785, are the reſult of much labour; and convey conſiderable information. But a very important period of Iriſh commerce has intervened between the year 1785, and the preſent. And an hiſtorical account of the trade and manufactures of Ireland is ſtill wanting. The quirer, therefore, if ſolicitous to be thoroughly informed on theſe heads, muſt have recourſe to the ſucceſſive ledgers of the Iriſh Cuſtom-houſe; to the various documents preſented to the Iriſh Parliament; and to the Britiſh, as well as to the Iriſh ſtatutes.

Without the reſearches here ſuggeſted, it is actually impoſſible to attain a perfect knowledge of the natural, political and commercial circumſtances of Ireland; but of thoſe individuals whoſe talents or ſituations might enable them to employ the information, thus obtained, for the benefit of Ireland, and that of the empire, it is to be ſuſpected, that very few are influenced by motives ſufficiently cogent to urge them to undergo the labour of collecting it; and that ſtill fewer enjoy the means of concentrating, within the ſphere of their examination, all the different ſources from whence alone that information can be drawn.

With regard to ſeveral of the characteriſtic qualities, moral principles and habits of the Iriſh people, thoſe of Great Britain are by no means ſo well informed as might naturally be expected. The notions of the Iriſh character, which have been drawn from the conduct and manners of thoſe motley adventurers, whom the wealth and luxury of England have hitherto allured

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allured acroſs the channel,—from plays,—from novels,—or from delineations preſumptuouſly ſketched by haſty, ſplenetic, or faſtidious touriſts, are in ſeveral reſpects incorrect, in ſome offenſively illiberal, in others utterly falſe; and upon the whole, as unfair and unſuitable as the notions of an Iriſhman, with regard to the Engliſh character, would be, if drawn from obſervations on the manners, knowledge of the world, intellectual qualities, literary attainments and elocution of Engliſh country-ſquires, cockneys, carters or colliers.

A native of Germany, of Spain, or of any of thoſe countries to which Iriſhmen were formerly conſtrained to transfer their valuable ſervices, but to which, it is hoped, they may never be driven to do ſo again, by a virtual ſhutting of that door to promotion, which their Parliament threw open, would find no ſmall heſitation in ſubſcribing to that character of the Iriſh which is ſo flippantly drawn, and inconſiderately recogniſed by their Engliſh neighbours.

The prevailing character of the inferiour order of the Iriſh community, an order whereof the proportionate numeral magnitude renders it worthy of peculiar attention, ſeems to be greatly miſunderſtoood in England. Even among intelligent, and otherwiſe well-informed Engliſhmen, there obtains a perſuaſion, that the common people of Ireland are but little removed above the level of ſavages, in any reſpect,—that they have no true ſenſe of religion,—that they are brutal and ferocious in their manners—that they are illiterate and ignorant in the extreme—and that the Roman Catholic clergy employ their influence, with effect, in keeping them ſo.

The habitations of the Iriſh peaſantry, it muſt be admitted, are, for the moſt part, little better than the huts of ſavages. The accommodations of the former, in few reſpects only, ſurpaſs thoſe of the latter. The Iriſh peaſant and the ſavage are almoſt equally capable of enduring hunger, fatigue and inclemency of weather. And, perhaps, it may be added, that, owing to the paſt miſgovernment of Ireland, the Iriſh peaſant does not much excel the ſavage, in juſt notions of liberty, or in due reſpect for the laws and civil inſtitutions of man. But here the reſemblance poſitively ceaſes. In all other particulars, the Iriſh peaſant will be found, at leaſt,

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as far above the level of the ſavage man, as the well-houſed, well-clad, and well accommodated peaſant of England. The religion of the former may not be quite ſo evangelical as that of the latter. But a high veneration for religion; a firm reliance thereon; a ſteadfaſt belief in all the articles of Chriſtian faith; and a ſcrupulous attendance at divine worſhip, are, beyond compariſon, more common among the inferiour orders of the Roman Catholic Iriſh, than among thoſe of the Proteſtant Engliſh. An individual, utterly uninfluenced by a ſenſe of religion, is rarely to be found among the former: but among the latter, eſpecially in mining and manufacturing diſtricts, the contrary is ſufficiently notorious. Fierce, vindictive and cruel the Iriſh peaſant confeſſedly is, when goaded, oppreſſed and tyrannically treated, as he has often been. But when otherwiſe, he certainly eclipſes the peaſant of England, in all the minor virtues of civilized man, ſuperadded to the hoſpitality and, occaſionally, to the fidelity of the ſavage. Affable, compaſſionate, generous, flexible, ready to ſerve, anxious to pleaſe, generally ſubmiſſive, reſpectful, where reſpect is known to be due, addicted rather to flattery than rudeneſs, the Iriſh peaſant, when treated in an unaffected conciliatory manner, with that kindneſs he deſerves, with that generoſity he is ever diſpoſed to exerciſe, with that frankneſs which allays his habitual ſuſpicions, and with that reſtrictedly polite familiarity which gratifies his native pride, will ſeldom fail to endear himſelf to his patron, or his benefactor, and to exhibit a character which, upon the whole, may be conſidered as not unworthy of a very high degree of philoſophic approbation.

The outrages and atrocities of Iriſh white boys, right boys and rebels have, it is true, been barbarous and horrifying. But if authentic documents be reſorted to; if the criminal calendars of Ireland and England be compared; it will be found, that, with the exception of periods of inſurrection, capital offences are not, in proportion, ſo numerous, in the former, as in the latter. It will be found too, that thoſe crimes which indicate an inconceivable degree of ſenſual depravity, and that which evinces an utter extinction of the natural, neceſſary and intereſting affection which predominates throughout the whole female world, and which are not unfrequent

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frequent in England, are, the latter of them, extremely rare, and the former utterly unknown in Ireland.

That the lower orders of the Iriſh are extremely illiterate and ignorant, and that the Roman Catholic clergy ſucceſsfully exert their influence in keeping them ſo, are haſty aſſertions, equally trite and untrue. If in two diſtricts, compriſing about one half of the county of Cork, there be found 316 unendowed ſchools, in which 21,892 children, chiefly of the loweſt claſs of Roman Catholics, are inſtructed in reading, writing, common arithmetic, and, in ſeveral inſtances, the more abſtruſe parts thereof, in navigation, &c.; if in other diſtricts, the unendowed ſchools be almoſt equally numerous*; if the lower Iriſh, in many parts of the country, ſpeak two languages, idiomatically and eſſentially different, which, by the way, is far from being generally the caſe in Wales; and if there be found much fewer evidences of ſimplicity and ignorance of human nature, among the Iriſh peaſants, than among the peaſantry of other countries, which cannot eaſily be controverted; if the former, when in ſtrange countries, proſecute their buſineſs with greater intelligence and ſucceſs, and extricate themſelves from accidental difficulties with much greater facility and addreſs than the latter, which is a fact, there ſurely is not quite ſufficient ground for pronouncing them comparatively illiterate and ignorant. And if the unendowed ſchools in, at leaſt, three-fourth parts of Ireland, be, with very few exceptions, under the ſuperintendence of Roman Catholic maſters, is it not evident, either that the Roman Catholic clergy take no pains to keep the lower claſs of their laity in a ſtate of ignorance; or that their influence does not extend ſufficiently far to do ſo; and, conſequently, that, in either caſe, that which is received as fact, is the oppoſite to truth.

The foregoing ſtrictures, on the ſeveral ſources of information, reſpecting the circumſtances of Ireland, having a manifeſt tendency to create, on the part of the reader, a confident expectation of deriving ample and ſatisfactory information from the following pages, the writer feels the neceſſity of taking this early opportunity to deprecate an expectation of that nature.

* The reader is referred to the Appendix for the truth of ſeveral of theſe obſervations.

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Far from preſuming to encourage it, he frankly forewarns his reader of approaching diſappointment in more inſtances than one. While, at the ſame time, he muſt, in juſtice to his friends, acknowledge that he has been liberally ſupplied, from almoſt every quarter, with whatever authentic information he had occaſion to ſolicit, and thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf were then prepared to impart: with a ſufficiency to preclude the neceſſity of reſorting to diſputable authority, except in a very few unimportant inſtances: indeed with much more than he ſought after, or can, on the preſent occaſion, conveniently employ.

The fact is, the apparent urgency of exhibiting the real value of Ireland, by diſcloſing or illuſtrating ſeveral of the circumſtances thereof, which are either unknown or imperfectly underſtood by the Britiſh public; and an actual deficiency, which cannot yet be ſupplied, of requiſite documents, reſpecting certain circumſtances of a very intereſting nature, have compelled the writer to narrow the limits which he originally preſcribed to this work; and induced him, with a view to expedition, to treat ſome ſubjects in a brief, and rather perfunctory manner, on which he could, and perhaps ought to be diffuſe.

But however defective and unſatisfactory theſe pages may, in ſome reſpects, be found, the writer will venture to indulge a hope, that, iſſuing, for the moſt part, from a collection of genuine documents and indiſputable facts, they will have the effect of attracting, towards Ireland, a more than ordinary ſhare of attention on the part of authoritative and intelligent individuals in England.

On a future occaſion, he thinks it not improbable that he may be ſufficiently prepared to ſupply the defects of the preſent work: meanwhile he feels himſelf prompted to preſs upon the conſideration of his more intelligent and better informed countrymen, the obvious neceſſity of a faithful detection of the different circumſtances of Ireland; in order that thoſe, into whoſe hands the government thereof has fallen, may fully diſcharge that duty, from which he perſuades himſelf they have no diſpoſition to ſhrink.

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Solicitous to convey truth alone to the Legiſlature, and to the Britiſh public, he invites thoſe of his countrymen, whoſe talents and information qualify them for the taſk, to diſcloſe whatever errors he may accidentally fall into — to allow no unintentional miſrepreſentation, on his part, to be received as truth — and to exhibit, in their true colours, whatever ſubjects or meaſures he may happen to examine through ſome deceptious medium of which he may not be aware; or ſuch as he may undeſignedly or inadvertently place in an improper light. He has endeavoured, ſucceſsfully, to reſcue himſelf from prejudice, and has been diligent in ſearch of truth; yet like others he may fall into errors.

Velut ſilvis, ubi paſſim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellet
Ille ſiniſtrorſum, hic dextrorſum abit; unus utrique
Error, ſed variis illudit partibus.

He belongs to no party; unleſs indeed that term be extended to thoſe who are zealouſly attached to the Hanoverian Dynaſty, and to the yet unrivalled ſyſtems of civil polity and juriſprudence of Great Britain. He is a foe to every ſpecies of tyranny, miſgovernment and abuſe of power. And when pleading the cauſe, or endeavouring to perpetuate the tranquillity of his native country, a country deſervedly dear to him, and in which his earlier friendſhips were formed, and thus, as he conceives, labouring to promote the proſperity and vigour of the Britiſh empire, he little cares whether his language be pleaſing or offenſive to any party, or any public man whatever.

If, notwithſtanding his declarations, he be precipitately accuſed of being a party writer, by thoſe who may decline the trouble of ſifting and comparing his ſentiments, he truſts he will ſtill have the conſolation to find a vaſt majority of Britons and Iriſhmen ready to do ample juſtice to his motives. He has, indeed, been lately ſupplied with a ſtrong additional reaſon for relying on the candour of his intelligent fellow-ſubjects, of every party. The gentlemen who conduct the literary review called "The Britiſh Critic," though appearing to hold opinions, on a very momentous political ſubject, incompatible with thoſe he has long maintained; and conſequently,

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quently, *judicio vulgi*, of a different party; have not heſitated to recommend his laſt work "to the ſerious conſideration of all whoſe ſituation and talents give them weight and influence in public meaſures, on the grounds of its being the reſult of laborious inveſtigation, and *apparently dictated by genuine patriotiſm.*" And as his principles have certainly undergone no change, he can confidently hope, that thoſe, who differ from him in opinion, will aſcribe the preſent work, whatever be its demerits, to its true motive, an earneſt ſolicitude for the joint welfare of Ireland and Great Britain.

The information of the Britiſh public being one of his principal objects, he will illuſtrate ſome of the circumſtances of Ireland by occaſional alluſions to ſimilar ones in England; which, otherwiſe, might perhaps be conſidered as ſuperfluous. And, except where the contrary ſhall be notified, he will adopt the land meaſures of the latter, in preference to thoſe of the former; there being a very conſiderable difference between them; and that difference almoſt univerſally unknown in England; and indeed far from being generally known in Ireland, though large tracts thereof, eſpecially in the ſouth, are let in Engliſh acres.

The difference, in queſtion, is this: The Iriſh perch contains 21 feet, or 252 inches, the Engliſh $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 198 inches. Conſequently, the number of perches compriſed in the Iriſh and Engliſh miles being the ſame, viz. 320, the former contains 80,640 inches, the latter 63,360. The number which divides both of theſe, is 5,760. $80{,}640 \div 5{,}760 = 14$, $63{,}360 \div 5{,}760 = 11$. Eleven Iriſh miles, therefore, are equal to fourteen Engliſh miles: or one Iriſh mile is equal to 1 M. 2 F. $7\frac{3}{11}$ P. Engliſh. The ſquare of the number of inches, in the Iriſh perch, viz. 252, is 63,504; and that of the number in the Engliſh perch, viz. 198, is 39,204. The number which divides both of theſe, is 324. $63{,}504 \div 324 = 196$, $39{,}204 \div 324 = 121$. One hundred and twenty-one Iriſh acres are, therefore, equal to one hundred and ninety-ſix Engliſh acres: or one Iriſh plantation acre is equal to 1 A. 2 R. $19\frac{21}{121}$ P. Engliſh. Thoſe who take 5 to 8, 11 to 18, or 61 to 98 as the proportion of Iriſh and Engliſh acres, though not far from the truth, are evidently in error. To reduce Iriſh to Engliſh acres, the given number is to be multiplied by 196,

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196, and the product divided by 121; and to reduce Engliſh to Iriſh acres, the latter number is to be employed as the multiplier, and the former as the diviſor. To aſcertain how much a given ſum ariſing, in the way of rent, from, or levied upon an Iriſh acre, would amount to on an Engliſh acre, that ſum is to be multiplied by 121, and the product divided by 196, and *vice verſa*. Thus 3d. per Iriſh acre is $1\frac{16}{196}$d. per Engliſh acre, 6d. per Iriſh acre is $3\frac{8}{98}$d. per Engliſh acre, 1s. per Iriſh acre is $7\frac{7}{49}$d. per Engliſh, and 1l. per Iriſh acre is 12s. $4\frac{8}{49}$d. per Engliſh acre.

The difference between Britiſh and Iriſh currency is ſo generally underſtood, that the writer thinks it unneceſſary (after the following brief comparative ſtatement, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe few readers who may be unacquainted with that difference) to reduce, in any inſtance, the latter into the former:

Iriſh money.			Britiſh money.			Britiſh money.			Iriſh money.			Par of exchange.
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
0	0	1	0	0	$0\frac{12}{13}$	0	0	1	0	0	$1\frac{1}{13}$	
0	1	0	0	0	$11\frac{1}{13}$	0	1	0	0	1	1	
1	0	0	0	18	$5\frac{7}{13}$	1	0	0	1	1	8	$8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.
5	0	0	4	12	$3\frac{9}{13}$	5	0	0	5	8	4	
100	0	0	92	6	$1\frac{11}{13}$	100	0	0	108	6	8	

As the writer will have occaſion to enlarge on the ſubject of tillage, it ſeems proper to apprize the Engliſh reader, that under the act 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19. corn is to be exported from, and imported into Ireland by the barrel; and that the ſtatute barrel of wheat is directed to weigh 20 ſtones, that of barley 16, and that of oats 14. For the information of ſeveral Iriſh readers, it may alſo be proper to obſerve that corn is exported from, and imported into England by the quarter; and that the medium weight of the quarter of Engliſh wheat is $32\frac{1}{2}$ ſtones, that of Barley 28, and that of oats $21\frac{3}{4}$.

To conclude theſe prefatory lines without acknowledging a high ſenſe of obligation to thoſe gentlemen who contributed to furniſh the writer with much of the information he ſought for, and from whom alone it could be obtained, would but ill correſpond with his feelings. The Inſpector General of the exports and imports of Ireland, Mr. Marſhall, has a ſtrong claim on his gratitude: ſo likewiſe has that gentleman's aſſiſtant, Mr.

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Mr. Hantenville; who, from the moment he was taught to believe that the writer's only object was the general welfare of the empire, politely, promptly, and under an extraordinary preſſure of official buſineſs, ſupplied him with every ſort of information within his reach: uniting, in his conduct, on the occaſion, the manners of the gentleman and the zeal of the patriot. To the Right Reverend Doctor M'Carthy, Coadjutor Roman Catholic Biſhop of Cork, whoſe indefatigable exertions, combined with thoſe of the venerable and amiable Moylan, in behalf of religion, morality and learning, are daily becoming conſpicuouſly efficacious, the writer acknowledges himſelf greatly indebted. To the Right Reverend Doctors Young, Shughrue and Coppinger, and to ſeveral of the Roman Catholic clergymen, under the juriſdiction of theſe Prelates, he likewiſe feels extremely grateful. And he deſires to aſſure the Reverend Doctors William O'Brien, and Richard Walſh that their intelligent and valuable communications juſtly merit his ſincere thanks.

Coolmore, May 27th, 1808.

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ERRATA.

Page 10, Line 7, *for* bay *read* harbour
—— 18, —— 6, *for* countries *read* counties
—— 21, —— 17, *for* twenty-five *read* twenty-four
—— 21, —— 7, *from bottom, for* from *read* of
—— 24, —— 9, *for* thirty-five *read* twenty-five
—— 36, note 5, *for* 29,397l. *read* 29,327l.
—— 45, line 10, *dele* a
—— 54, —— 6, *from bottom, for* in *read* on
—— 60, —— 4, *from bottom, for* ſerve *read* ſerves
—— 98, —— 8, *for* occurrence *read* concurrence
—— 101, —— 20, *for* ſubſequent *read* ſubſequently
—— 112, —— 8, *for* it *read* Houſe of Commons
—— 120, —— 4, *from bottom, for* 3,574l. *read* 3,547l.
—— 128, —— 21, *for* 1762 *read* 1672
—— 132, —— 4, *for* 1733 *read* 1773.
—— 138, —— 5, *from bottom, for* 5 G. 3. c.19. *read* 7 G. 3. c. 19.
—— 142, —— 5, *from bottom, for* ſubſequent *read* ſubſequently
—— 286, —— 7, *add &*
—— —— —— 11, *add &*
—— —— —— 12, *add &*
—— 315, —— 5, *from bottom for* 1000l. to 5000l *read* 100l. to 500l.

APPENDIX.

Page 22 *and* 23, *laſt column, for* Alms-houſes *read* Alms-houſe
—— 36, *for* Barryrove *read* Barryroe
—— 48, *for* 30 continued *read* 31

TO THE BINDER.

The Map is to face the Explanation.

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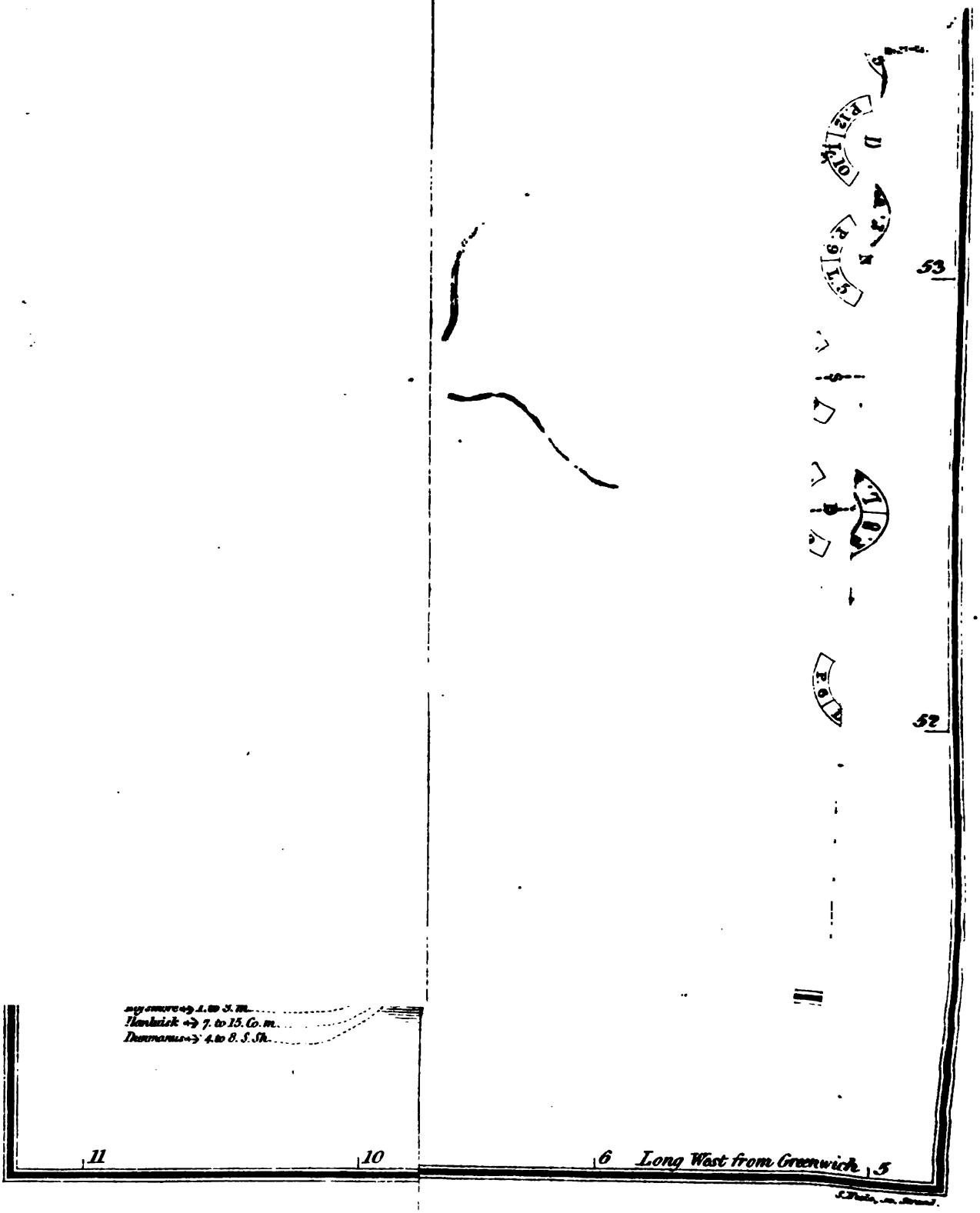

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EXPLANATION OF THE ANNEXED MAP.

THE deſign of this Map is, to exhibit the ſituations and ſoundings of the ſeveral harbours, and other places where ſhips may occaſionally anchor, in ſafety, round the coaſt of Ireland — the courſes and relative diſtances of the navigable rivers — the practicable, projected and actual lines of internal navigation — the preſent ſtate of each port, with regard to the exportation of the two principle articles of the Iriſh trade, proviſions and linen — the number of houſes in the ſea-port towns, as returned to Parliament in the year 1800 — the mineral and foſſil productions of the ſeveral counties; their reſpective areas; the number of houſes in each, as returned to Parliament, in March 1792; the number of mills in each, from whence the market of Dublin was ſupplied with flour and corn, during the continuance of the bounty on the inland carriage of theſe articles; and the ſums levied, by the grand juries, for making and repairing roads and bridges, and for other local purpoſes.

The harbours are diſtinguiſhed, by anchors with ſtocks, from thoſe places where ſhips may occaſionally ride in ſafety. The Roman capital letters, within and without the ſea-coaſt line, correſponding with the initials of the harbours and anchorages, point out their ſituations with ſufficient accuracy. The figures, near the anchors, ſhew the ſoundings at low water; and the letters and abbreviations which accompany them, viz. M. SH. S. GR. CO. R. put for mud, ſhells, ſand, gravel, coral, rock, indicate the nature of the anchoring ground.

The two ſmall parallel lines, acroſs the rivers, mark the termination of their navigable parts. The chains, with ſquare links, coloured green, ſhew the rivers which were repreſented as capable of being rendered navigable, by the perſons who were employed, in the early part of the laſt century, to ſurvey Ireland, with a view to internal navigation. The chains, with round links, coloured red, point out the canals which have been lately projected or ſuggeſted. The lines of internal navigation, actually open, are coloured blue.

The letters P. L. F. on the curved tablets, beyond the coaſt line, ſtand for proviſions and linen exported, and flaxſeed imported; and the figures thereon mark the rank of each port, with regard to the exportation and importation of theſe articles. The particulars may be ſeen in the Table No. VIII. in the Appendix.

The letters and abbreviations, in the ſeveral counties, are put for the names of the minerals and foſſils diſcovered therein, as in the following columns:

AA.	Antimony	CR.	Cryſtal	L.	Lead	S.	Slate
M.	Amethyſt	F..	Fuller's earth	M.	Marble	SI.	Silver
B.	Baſalt	G	Gypſum	MAN.	Manganeſe	S. S.	Silicious ſand
C.	Coal	GA.	Garnite	O.	Ochre	SP.	Spar, fluor
CH.	Chalcedony	GO.	Gold	P.	Pebbles	SU.	Sulphur
CL.	Clay, potters, pipe, &c.	GR.	Granite	PE.	Pearls	T.	Talc
CO.	Cobalt	I.	Iron	PET.	Petrefactions	TI.	Tin
COP.	Copper	J.	Jaſper	PO.	Porphyry		

Theſe letters are not uniformly placed exactly in thoſe parts of the counties where the different minerals and foſſils have been found. In ſome inſtances, as in the counties of Carlow and Longford, the proper location of theſe was prevented by the introduction of the tablets. And, in a few others, the want of preciſe information rendered this impoſſible: as was the caſe with the garnites and chalcedony exhibited, in the Dublin muſeum, among the ſpecimens brought from the county of Donegal. It muſt be obſerved too, that as iron, lead, copper, marbles and clays are found in different parts of the ſame counties, the poſition of the letters or abbreviations became a matter of indifference; and was, in ſuch caſes, left, in a great degree, to the convenience or fancy of the Engraver.

The figures in the tablets, on the left hand, in each county, denote the number of Engliſh acres therein. Thoſe in the tablets, on the right hand, ſhew the number of houſes, as returned, by the collectors of hearth-money, to the Inſpector General, in the year 1792: ſince which, the population of Ireland has probably increaſed upwards of one-fourth; and this increaſe appears to have been chiefly in the ſouthern and weſtern counties. The figures in the lozenges, on the left hand, ſhew the number of acres to each inhabitant, one with another; ſix inhabitants being computed as the average number in each houſe, which a ſeries of accurate ſurveys have evinced to be rather below, than above the truth. The figures in the lozenges, on the right hand, ſhew the greateſt number of mills from whence flour and corn were ſent to Dublin, in any year, ſince the commencement of the bounty on the inland-carriage of theſe articles. The ſums between the lozenges are the greateſt which were levied, in one year, by the ſeveral grand juries, during the years 1803-4-5-6, except in the counties of Galway, Wexford and Sligo, from whence no returns appear to have been made to Parliament, ſubſequently to the year 1802. The figures near the towns, except Dublin, indicate the number of houſes in each, as returned to Parliament, immediately before the union. The number of houſes which Dublin is repreſented to contain, is taken from Dr. Whitelaw's accurate ſurvey of that city.

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NATURAL AND POLITICAL

CIRCUMSTANCES

OF

IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

" DURING the time of my ſervice in Ireland (ſays Sir John Davis) which began in the firſt year of His Majeſty's (King James I.) reign, I have viſited all the provinces of that kingdom in ſundry journies and circuits. Wherein I have obſerved the good temperature of the air; the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil; the pleaſant and commodious ſeats for habitations; the ſafe and large ports and havens lying open for traffic into all the weſt parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers; and ſo many great lakes and freſh ponds within the land, as the like are not to be ſeen in any part of Europe; the rich fiſhings and wild fowl of all kinds; and laſtly, the bodies and minds of the people endued with extraordinary abilities by nature *."

" Had it not been (ſays Sir William Temple) for circumſtances prejudicial to the increaſe of trade and riches in a country, and which ſeem natural, or at leaſt to have been ever incident to the government of Ireland, the native fertility of the Iriſh ſoil and ſeas, in ſo many rich commodities, improved by a multitude of people and induſtry, with the advantage of ſo many excellent havens, and a ſituation ſo commodious for all foreign trade, muſt needs have rendered this kingdom one of the

* Hiſtorical Relations, p. 1.

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richeſt in Europe, and made a mighty increaſe both of ſtrength and revenue to the crown of England *."

" Ireland (ſays the intelligent Mr. Brown) is, in reſpect of its ſituation, the number of its commodious harbours and the natural wealth which it produces, the fitteſt iſland to acquire riches of any in the European ſeas; for as by its ſituation it lies the moſt commodious for the Weſt Indies, Spain and the northern and eaſt countries, ſo it is not only ſupplied by nature with all the neceſſaries of life, but can over and above export large quantities to foreign countries, in ſo much that had it been miſtreſs of a free trade, no nation in Europe of its extent, could, in an equal number of years, acquire greater wealth †."

To illuſtrate the ground of theſe remarks, and to draw forth, from comparative obſcurity and oblivion, ſuch of the natural and political circumſtances of Ireland as appear to merit peculiar attention, are the principal objects of the preſent work.

With this view, it is propoſed, firſt, to exhibit thoſe natural advantages by which Ireland ſeems, in an eminent manner, qualified for the attainment of commercial opulence and national ſtrength. Secondly, to diſcloſe the various cauſes which operated in rendering thoſe advantages almoſt abortive. And thirdly, to review the circumſtances which have tended to prevent a complete and uniform fruition of them, ſince the removal of the principal cauſes by which they were fruſtrated.

The more efficient natural advantages which qualify a country for the attainment of riches, by means of external and internal traffick, are, a favourable ſituation, relatively to other countries; numerous and commodious harbours; extenſive navigable rivers; a convenient ſupply of materials for making durable roads; a temperate climate; an abundance of ſuch minerals and foſſils as are capable of being greatly enhanced in value by the labour and ingenuity of man; productive fiſheries; and a fertile ſoil, with the means of increaſing and preſerving its fertility.

Under a well conſtituted and permanent government, competent to afford due protection to its ſubjects, an induſtrious people, enjoying perſonal liberty, ſecurity of property, internal peace, and experiencing ſuitable en-

* Miſcellaneous works, vol. iii. p. 8.

† Eſſays on trade in general, and on that of Ireland in particular, page 38. publiſhed in 1728.

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couragements, on the part of a prudent and ſolicitous legiſlature, can ſcarcely fail to acquire commercial wealth and national ſtrength in proportion to the number of theſe natural advantages, and the extent and value of each.

With reſpect to a few of them, individually taken, and conſidered in their utmoſt perfection, Ireland is, no doubt, equalled by ſeveral other countries, and even greatly ſurpaſſed by ſome. But with reſpect to the aggregate of theſe advantages, and to the more important ones among them, there can be little riſk in affirming, that Ireland ranks conſiderably above almoſt any known country in the world. Yet, it is a melancholy truth, that, owing to a tiſſue of political circumſtances of an unpropitious nature, ſhe has ever been greatly ſurpaſſed, in point of national conſpicuity, and the bleſſings reſulting from that general civilization which ordinarily accompanies increaſing national wealth, by other countries much leſs bounteouſly endowed by the Almighty.

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PART I.

OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES WHICH QUALIFY IRELAND FOR THE ACQUISITION OF COMMERCIAL WEALTH.

SECTION I.

Relative Situation.—Harbours —Sea-Coaſt.

Relative Situation.—WHOEVER will caſt an eye over a chart of the world, as exhibited by a projection of the ſphere, will find no difficulty in admitting, that the ſituation of Ireland, relatively to all other countries, capable of receiving and beſtowing the reciprocal benefits of external commerce, is favourable in the extreme. Its communication is open and direct with England, France, Spain, Portugal, the coaſt of Africa, the Eaſt-Indies, South-America, the Weſt-Indies, the United States of America, Newfoundland, Hudſon's-bay, Greenland, &c. with by far the greater part of the richeſt, the moſt fertile, the moſt commercial, and the moſt mutually dependent countries in the world; with countries abounding in an endleſs variety of commodities, furniſhing every material on which the varied induſtry of man can be employed, and preſenting the utmoſt allurements to the enterpriſing trader. Its communication with the reſt and leaſt valuable part of the world is, upon the whole, neither more circuitous, nor more difficult than that of other European countries, with many of thoſe places which the ordinary purſuit of extended and diverſified commerce requires their traders to viſit. It ſeems deſtined by nature to be the great emporium of the commodities of Europe and America; and indeed of thoſe of almoſt every maritime country upon the ſurface of the globe.

In reſpect of ſituation, it manifeſtly ſurpaſſes that country (Holland) which, in leſs than a hundred and fifty years, under great phyſical diſadvantages, and ſtruggling to preſerve its acquired place among the nations of Europe, roſe from obſcurity and indigence to conſpicuity and opulence, by collecting and diſtributing the products of other countries; and by the induſtry, frugality, perſeverance and enterpriſing ſpirit of its inhabitants, effectually ſeconded by their enjoyment of internal peace, liberty and ſecurity.

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In the ſame reſpect, Ireland excels England alſo; it being poſſible for ſhips, departing from a majority of the ports of the former, to reach the weſtern coaſt of France, the coaſts of Portugal and Spain, and even that of North America, to perform half the voyage to the Weſt-Indies, or to the different countries bordering on the Mediterranean ſea, before the ſhips, which ſail from the greater part of the ports of the latter, can enter the Atlantic ocean *. In ſhort, with regard to locality, Ireland is inferiour to no country, and obviouſly ſuperiour to almoſt every other.

Harbours.—But the mere locality of a country, however favourable, is not alone ſufficient to entitle it to hold a diſtinguiſhed place among thoſe which poſſeſs the various other natural requiſites for a ſpeedy, ſafe and general proſecution of commerce. Compared with theſe, it is indeed of ſecondary importance, though confeſſedly far from being of a trivial nature.

In making an eſtimate of the natural endowments of a country, with reference to trade, a very high degree of conſideration is juſtly due to its harbours. They are the points of confluence, the centres of attraction of foreign and domeſtic produce and manufactures. The more numerous they are, the nearer is every part of the country to a market, and conſequently the better ſituated for carrying on trade.

With regard to theſe important requiſites, there is no country in the world, of the ſame, or even much greater extent, that can pretend to vie with Ireland. The extremely ſinuous line of its ſea coaſt, excluſive of ſuch parts as lie within eſtuaries, or above the firſt good anchorage in every harbour, but incluſive of the river Shannon, as far as the tide reaches, and the ſhores of Bantry bay, Dunmanus bay, and Kenmare river, will, if accurately followed through all its windings, be found to meaſure 1,737 miles. In this line, there are no fewer than 130 harbours and places where ſhips may anchor for a tide, or find ſhelter during the continuance of adverſe winds. Conſequently to each harbour or road, taken one with another, there are not thirteen miles and a half of ſea-coaſt: or, all parts of the coaſt are, on an average, within leſs than ſix miles and a quarter of ſome ſafe anchoring place or harbour. The greateſt diſtance of one harbour or anchoring place from another, which is that of Scattery

* In the courſe of the evidence given before the committee of the Britiſh privy council, when the commercial intercourſe between England and Ireland was in agitation, great ſtreſs was laid on the ſuperiority of the latter over the former in point of ſituation.

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iſland in the river Shannon, from Caſleh bay in the county of Galway, is 68 miles *. The next greateſt diſtance, is that from the anchoring ground off Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, to the anchoring ground off Balliniſkier, in the county of Wexford, which is 27 miles. The other harbours or roads, lie, for the moſt part, within a very ſhort diſtance of each other: in many inſtances, nearly contiguous. Indeed, in ſeveral of the great bays, ſuch as thoſe of Donegal and Bantry, the Kenmare river, as the bay of that name is called, the river Shannon, and likewiſe on other parts of the coaſt, the harbours and anchoring places often lie ſo near, that, although, when at oppoſite ſides of the bay, they facilitate the exportation of the products of diſtricts conſiderably diſtant from each other, each of theſe aſſemblages ſhould perhaps more properly be conſidered as one port only. In this caſe, and with the excluſion of all the roads or anchoring places, the number of harbours will be reduced to 70 as underneath †. But as the circuit of Ireland does not exceed 887½ miles, if meaſured by lines ſtretched between thoſe headlands or promon-

* The entrance of the bay of Galway is nearer; but the place where ſhips anchor is at a greater diſtance from Scattery iſland than the anchoring place in Caſleh bay.

† Achilbeg iſland.
Ardbear.
Bantry.
Baltimore.
Ballinakiel.
Ballinſkelligs.
Ballidehab.
Balbriggan.
Belfaſt.
Beldoyle.
Birtirbui.
Blackſod.
Broadhaven.
Caſleh.
Caſtlemain.
Caſtlehaven.
Carlingford or Newry.
Cork.
Claggan.
Clognakilty.
Courtnaſherry.
Croit.
Crookhaven.
Donegal.
Donaghadee.
Dingle.
Drogheda.
Dundalk.
Dublin.
Dunmanus.
Dungarvan.
Foyle.
Feathard.
Galway.
Glandore.
Greatman's bay
Iniſhſkiel.
Iniſhbofin.
Killery.
Kilkerran.
Killala.
Kinſale.
Kenmare.
Larne.
Limerick.
Longiſland.
Malahide.
Mulroy.
Newport, or Clew-bay.
Oyſter-haven.
Quoylagh.
Rutland.
Ruſh.
Sheephaven.
Skerries.
Sligo.
Smerwick.
Strangford.
Strabegy.
Swilly.
Tralee.
Tramore.
Tillen.
Tullochan.
Valentia.
Ventry.
Waterford.
Wexford.
Wicklow.
Youghall.

There are only 79 ports belonging to the United States of America, and of theſe nine are ſo little frequented, notwithſtanding the extenſive commerce of that country, that their aggregate revenues, in four years ended in March 1805, did but little exceed 4,500 dollars, out of upwards of 45 millions.

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tories, in number 56, which exclude from the meaſurement the greateſt ſpace of ſea, the reſpective diſtances of theſe harbours, one with another, is ſtill leſs than that of the harbours and roads in the foregoing caſe, being under thirteen miles. The greateſt diſtance of any one from another is that before mentioned, from Scattery iſland, in the river Shannon, to Caſleh bay. The next, is that between Wicklow and Wexford, which is about forty-ſix miles. Theſe diſtances being excluded, the harbours of Ireland will be found to lie within a very few miles of each other.

It is further to be obſerved, that the maritime counties of Ireland compriſe about two-thirds of its area, or 19,451 ſquare miles, out of 30,374; and that conſequently, if we introduce again into the account all the different harbours and roads, which, in this view of the ſubject, is certainly admiſſible, we ſhall find that, in theſe counties, taking one diſtrict with another, there is a harbour, or ſafe anchoring place to about every 150 ſquare miles, or every 96,000 acres.

It may be obſerved likewiſe, that Ireland being 306 miles long, from Fairhead in the county of Antrim to Mizen-head in the county of Cork, and 207 miles broad, from Emlaghraſh in the county of Mayo to Carnſore point in that of Wexford, the aggregate number of miles of its length and breadth does not much exceed five-eighths of the number contained in its line of ſea-coaſt.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that beſides the harbours and roads already noticed, the iſlands, which lie from one, to about eight miles off the coaſt, preſent four of the former, and three of the latter; making the total number one hundred and thirty-ſeven.

Many of the harbours of Ireland rank, in all reſpects, with the nobleſt in the world. Several of them excel thoſe of which any other country can boaſt.

Lough Swilly, on the northern coaſt, is twelve miles long from abreaſt of Doonaffhead to Inch iſland; and, where broadeſt, about three miles and a half. The ſoundings, at low water, are throughout, from two to twelve fathoms; at the different anchoring places, four, ſeven, eight, or ten; and the bottom is ſand, ſhells or mud, but chiefly the firſt.

Bantry-bay, on the ſouth-weſt coaſt, is twenty-two miles long, from abreaſt of Sheephead to Ballyliky, and five miles broad from the former to Beer iſland. The ſoundings, in the bay, are from ſeven to thirty-two fathoms.

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fathoms. Beerhaven, which is included therein, is ſeven miles and a half long, and one mile and a half where broadeſt. The ſoundings in this haven, at low water, are from one fathom and a half to twelve; in general about eight; and the bottom is for the moſt part ſtiff coheſive mud. Glangaruff harbour, alſo within Bantry-bay, is about two miles long, and about one and a half broad. The ſoundings are from two to ten fathoms, generally about eight; and the bottom the ſame as that of Beerhaven. The anchoring ground to the eaſt of Whiddy iſland, in this bay, is likewiſe fit for the reception of large ſhips. The ſtream of tide in Bantry-bay is ſcarcely perceptible; which is alſo the caſe in the neighbouring bay of Dunmanus.

Cork harbour, on the ſouthern coaſt, is, according to Captain M'Kenzie's chart, about ſix miles long from eaſt to weſt, meaſured from the ſhore of Roſtillan to that of Monkſtown; and about three miles from north to ſouth, meaſured from Cuſhkinny to Carliſle fort. The ſoundings at the principal anchoring place, where the ſhips of war lie, are from five to ten fathoms at low water, generally about ſix; and the bottom is tenacious mud.

The river Shannon, on the weſt coaſt, affords another fine and ſpacious harbour. From Kerryhead, at the mouth of this noble river, to Scattery iſland where the ſhips of war and Eaſt Indiamen uſually anchor, the diſtance is ſeventeen miles; and from the Kerry to the Clare ſhore by that iſland, the breadth of the river is nearly three miles. The ſoundings thoughout, weſtward of Scattery iſland, are from two to twenty fathoms, near that iſland from two to ſeven, with a mud bottom. The ſhores are ſafe; and the ſpring tides, when ſtrongeſt, do not run more than a mile in the hour towards the mouth of the river. The approaches to theſe noble harbours appear to be perfectly free from danger.

Inferior to theſe, in ſome reſpects, but ſuperior to thoſe which are to be found in almoſt any other country in Europe, or perhaps in the world, are the following ones.

Blackſod harbour on the weſtern coaſt, lying nearly north and ſouth, with its entrance to the weſt; and completely ſheltered by the high land of Achil iſland from the ſtormy winds which blow from the ſouth-weſt. It is about five miles and a half long, from abreaſt of Kinfinnalty point to Claggan; and where broadeſt five miles. The ſoundings in the harbour are

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not leſs than three fathoms; and at the anchoring places from two to four and a half, with a ſandy bottom. It may be approached with perfect ſafety.

Birtirbui harbour, alſo on the weſt coaſt, lying eaſt and weſt, and ſeparated from that of Roundſtone by the iſland of Iniſhnee, is, from the ſmall iſland at its entrance, to the iſland called Ilanaguram, three miles and a half long; and almoſt every where at leaſt two miles broad. The entrance of this bay is about half a mile acroſs; and the ſoundings therein, at low water, are everywhere from ſix to eight fathoms. The ſoundings on the anchoring ground, which ſtretches over almoſt the whole harbour, are from three to ten fathoms, generally about ſeven; and the bottom is, for the moſt part, mud. The approach to this fine harbour, which is obviouſly capable of affording ample accommodation to a large fleet of the heavieſt men of war, and which might eaſily be rendered impregnable, is not wholly free from danger, at leaſt in bad or hazy weather; as ſeveral dangerous rocks lie in the way. Thoſe, however, which are to be met with in the direct courſe from ſea are generally about two miles aſunder; have deep water all around them; and attention being paid to their ſituation with reſpect to the Skirds and Carrickameel rocks, which are viſible, they may with little difficulty be avoided.

Broadhaven, likewiſe on the weſt coaſt, Belfaſt lough on the north-eaſt coaſt, Waterford on the ſouth-eaſt, Kinſale, Crookhaven, Caſtlehaven, on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt coaſts, are all excellent harbours; and may be approached with ſafety in tempeſtuous weather.

Strangford lough, on the north-eaſt, and lough Foyle, on the north coaſt, are ſafe and capacious harbours; but the entrance into the former is ſomewhat dangerous; and that into the latter narrow. This, in a greater degree, is the caſe with Killery harbour, on the weſt coaſt, which is two miles and a half long, and about half a mile broad, with from eight to ten fathoms, and a bottom of mud.

Carlingford harbour, on the north-eaſt coaſt, is capable of accommodating a conſiderable fleet; its anchoring ground being three miles and a half long, and a mile and a half broad, with from one to ſix fathoms of water, for the moſt part, on mud. Its entrance, however, is rather intricate.

Ventry harbour, on the ſouth-weſt coaſt, might vie with many of theſe, if

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if its bottom were leſs foul. Smerwick harbour on the ſame coaſt, Great-man's bay, Caſheen and Caſleh bays on the weſt, Sheephaven and Mulroy on the north, and Baltimore on the ſouth coaſt, are alſo fine harbours; as, notwithſtanding its comparative ſmallneſs, is the harbour of Killybegs on the north-weſt coaſt, affording the ſafeſt anchorage, with from two to ten fathoms of water, and a bottom of mud.

To extend this account any further ſeems ſuperfluous, as the prefixed map will convey to the reader ſufficient information with reſpect to the remaining harbours of Ireland *.

Among the iſlands adjacent to its ſinuous coaſt, and of which, excluſive of thoſe that lie within the great bays, there are near one hundred inhabited, moſt of them fertile, ſome of them, ſuch as the iſles of Arran off the coaſt of Galway, the iſland of Valentia, and the Magharea iſlands off the coaſt of Kerry, ſurpriſingly ſo, there are, as before noticed, in addition to the harbours and anchoring places introduced into the liſt, four of the former and three of the latter, laid down by Captain M'Kenzie. But beſides theſe, there are ſeveral places where ſmall craft may find ſhelter, and lie for a time in ſafety.

Of the harbours, the principal one is Church-bay in the iſland of Rachlin or Rachree. This iſland lies one mile and a quarter from the coaſt of Antrim. Its bay or harbour, which is oppoſite that coaſt, is very ſpacious, being about three miles and a half broad at its entrance, and about two miles and a half deep. Its ſoundings are from four to fifteen fathoms at a ſhort diſtance from the ſhore, and three fathoms quite cloſe to it, with a fair ſandy bottom. It appears ſufficiently well ſheltered, and capable of accommodating a conſiderable fleet. The harbour in the iſle of Arran, off the coaſt of Galway, is commodious, ſecure, and might be effectually defended by a very ſmall force. Its ſoundings are from two to five fathoms, with a ſandy bottom.

Where the iſlands lie crowded together near the coaſt, as is the caſe off the weſtern and ſouthern coaſts, near the bay of Galway, and the har-

* For the information of ſome readers, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that men of war of the firſt rate draw 28 feet, and require ſix more to lie with perfect ſafety in a high ſwell, making together five fathoms four feet; thoſe of the ſecond rate about five fathoms; frigates four fathoms, and merchant ſhips ſeldom more than three, but in general leſs.

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bour of Baltimore, they divide the ſea into innumerable ſtraits reſembling canals, and in moſt inſtances navigable by veſſels of conſiderable burthen. In Clew bay, there are upwards of three hundred iſlands, in general extremely fertile, with many ſafe anchorages among them.

With reſpect then to number, proximity, ſecurity, and ſpacioufneſs of harbours, affording by theſe means the utmoſt facility to the profecution of commerce, Ireland may juſtly be ſaid to ſtand unrivalled among other countries of equal or even much greater extent. And if theſe numerous and noble harbours be conſidered, together with its peculiarly happy poſition, this country muſt ſurely appear to every intelligent man to be pre-eminently qualified by nature, in theſe reſpects at leaſt, for exerciſing the utmoſt maritime controul.

In number of harbours, England and Wales, in proportion to their extent of ſea coaſt, appear to fall conſiderably ſhort of Ireland. Beſides a very great proportion of their harbours are mere creeks or coves, ſuch as Ailnmouth, Aberdovey, Bamborough, Barmouth, and Southwold; dangerous, ſuch as Exmouth, Beaumaris, and others; dry, ſuch as Blackney, Burnham, Wells, and Whitby; or barred, difficult of approach; or artificial, ſuch as Barnſtable, Berwick, Maryport, Minehead, Margate, Scarborough, Whitehaven, Workington, and others. Of which laſt ſort, Balbriggan, Bangor, Donaghadee, Dunleary, Feathard, Ruſh, Skerries, and Wicklow, are the only ones included among the harbours of Ireland.

Were it neceſſary to augment the number of ſuch harbours in Ireland, it ſeems extremely poſſible to do ſo to a conſiderable extent; there being one hundred and ten eſtuaries or inlets of the ſea round the coaſt, many of which, apparently, might be rendered capable of affording protection to ſhips of different burthens at no great expence.

From the reſtoration to the 30th year of George II., there paſſed fifty-two acts for making, repairing, improving, and preſerving the following harbours: viz. Arundel, Bridport, Burlington, Dover, Ellenfoot, Ilfracomb, Lyme, Liverpool, Margate, Minehead, Newhaven, Parton, Catwater, Poole, Ramſgate, Rye, Scarborough, Southwold, Sunderland, Watchet, Weymouth, Whitby, Whitehaven, and Yarmouth. Of theſe acts, three were paſſed in the reign of Charles the ſecond, one in that of James the ſecond, five in that of William, ſeven in

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that of Anne, twelve in that of George the firſt, and twenty-four in that of George the ſecond. But, in Ireland, the only acts of the ſame nature, which were paſſed from 1665 to 1786 incluſive, were thoſe which follow: viz. an act for incloſing the ſtrand on the north ſide of the river Liffey, 1 G. II. c. 26.; an act for cleanſing the ports, harbours, and rivers of Cork, Galway, Belfaſt, Sligo, and Drogheda, and erecting ballaſt offices therein, 3 G. II. c. 21.; and an act for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its harbour and port more commodious, 26 G. III. c. 19. The grants of the Iriſh parliament for harbours, piers, &c. were as follow: viz. in 1756, 2,000l. for Skerries pier: in 1757, 500l. for Bangor pier: in 1765, 1,200l. for Killileagh pier in Strangford harbour, 1,000l. for Dingle quay, and 1,300l. for Sligo harbour: in 1771, 500l. for the quay of Galway: in 1775, 500l. for the pier of Portrane near Ruſh: in 1783, 600l. for the pier of Liſcanner, 1,000l. for Galway harbour, and 500l. for Carrickfergus quay: likewiſe in different years from 1761 to 1783, 21,500l. for Cork harbour: in 1783, 1,000l. for Dublin harbour: in 1761, 1763, and 1765, 6,752l. for Balbriggan pier: from 1756 to 1765 incluſive, 18,500l. for Dunleary pier: in 1756 and 1767, 1,870l. for Enver pier: in 1771 and 1777, 1,500l. for Youghal harbour and piers: in 1781, 500l. for Dungarvan quay: in 1765, 2,500l. for Limerick quay: in 1767, 1771, and 1777, 2,800l. for Carlingford bay, wet dock, and piers: in 1767, 2,000l. and 400l. annually for eight years for Dundalk harbour: in 1765, 1767, and 1771, 4,590l. 15s. for Londonderry quay: in 1745 and 1763, 13,290l. 19s. 6½d. for Ballycaſtle harbour: from 1759 to 1767 incluſive, 9,264l. 9s. 8d. for Wicklow harbour: in 1775 and 1777, 2,705l. for Donaghadee harbour—amounting altogether to 103,073l. 4s. 2½d. from the year 1703 to 1789 incluſive.

Now it is to be obſerved that this period includes an interval of five years, ſubſequent to 1750, when the nation was not only not in debt, but had a redundance in its treaſury; and alſo another interval from 1780 to 1786 incluſive, during which various ſpirited and unprecedented exertions were made to promote the trade of Ireland; and when, it is to be preſumed, that the harbours, if in any reſpect defective, would not have been overlooked, as very conſiderable ſums were annually granted for public works of inferior utility. It may be affirmed likewiſe, on ſufficient

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ficient grounds, that if the harbours had afforded pretexts for the expenditure of any great proportion of the public money, individuals would not have been wanting who would have found means to avail themſelves of theſe pretexts, with the ſole view of filling their private purſes at the public expence. How much of the foregoing ſum of 103,073l. 4s. 2½d. was faithfully expended in the different works to which it was appropriated, it would be difficult to conjecture. We may ſuſpect, however, that little more than one half, if ſo much, was thus expended; it being well known that among thoſe in the Iriſh community, who were capacitated to enjoy the patronage of government, there has almoſt uniformly been, with a few individual exceptions, not only a ſhameful want of public ſpirit, but an inveterate propenſity to outrageous jobbing.

—To purſue the compariſon between England and Ireland in reſpect of harbours a little farther, it may truly be obſerved, that there are not twenty harbours in England and Wales which can be claſſed with forty of the beſt in Ireland: nor, with perhaps the ſingle exception of Milford, which is about ſeven miles long and one broad, with from four to thirteen fathoms on a bottom of mud, is there one in the former which can, in almoſt any reſpect, be compared with the beſt ten in the latter: and that if the ſafe anchoring places be added to the harbours of each country, Ireland will rank above England, not only in capaciouſneſs, ſafety, and proportionate number of harbours, but likewiſe in the general number of places for the accommodation of ſhipping; there being one hundred and thirty-ſix harbours and anchoring places belonging to the former; and, as far as appears by the charts which the writer has examined, only one hundred and twelve to the latter.

Sea-Coaſt. There is likewiſe another very important reſpect in which Ireland appears to have a great advantage over other maritime countries, namely the general ſafety of its coaſts. The ſoundings from Carnſore Point, in the county of Wexford, round by Cape Clear to the hill of Howth in the county of Dublin, a courſe of 780 miles, are, within leſs than two miles of the coaſt, from ſeven to fifty fathoms; generally upwards of 20 within a quarter of a mile of the weſtern, northern, and moſt part of the ſouthern coaſts. From the Saltee iſlands, off the coaſt of Wexford, to Ballard's Point, in the county of Clare, a ſpace of 257 miles, including that part of Ireland which is beſt ſituated for foreign trade, and every where

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where indented with harbours, the coaſt is for the greater part ſo ſafe that it may generally be approached without a pilot *. The few ſunken rocks in that ſpace, except a cluſter near the Great Blaſket iſland, off the county of Kerry, lie contiguous to the coaſt; and thoſe which riſe above the water are viſible at a great diſtance, in ſome inſtances, at the diſtance of ſeveral leagues; and have deep water round and cloſe to them. The Staggs of Caſtlehaven, one mile and a quarter from ſhore, have from 6 to 16 fathoms water round them. The Faſnet rock, four miles from Cape Clear, has from 18 to 22. The Bull, Cow, and Calf, within about two and three miles of Durſey iſland, off the coaſt of Cork, have from 34 to 39. The Foze rock, five miles from the Great Blaſket iſland, off the Kerry coaſt, has from 29 to 45. The Skelligs, ſeven miles from Bolus Head, in the ſame county, have from 15 to 38. The Lemon rocks near theſe, have from 15 to 32. And the Tiraght rock, off the ſame coaſt, diſtant about five miles, has from 23 to 39 fathoms round it.

From Hag's Head, in the county of Clare, to Goulin Head, in the county of Galway, a ſpace of forty miles, the coaſt is perfectly ſafe: and from Buinaha Point, in the county of Mayo, north about to the hill of Howth, in the county of Dublin, a ſpace of 390½ miles, it is alſo free from any danger except five ſunken rocks near the iſland of Iniſhglore, nine between Daurus Head and Aranmore iſland, three about one mile from Ringmore Point, at the entrance of Mulroy harbour, the rock called Hely Hunter, one mile and a half from the Down coaſt, and the Pladden Rocks near the entrance of Strangford lough. The following rocks, in that ſpace, are viſible from afar, and may ſafely be approached: the Staggs of Broadhaven, diſtant from the coaſt of Mayo one mile and a half, having from 12 to 27 fathoms water round them: Boahinchi Rocks, ſix miles and a half from the coaſt of Sligo, having from 4 to 16 fathoms: Carrickavrank Rock one mile from Melmore Point, in the county of Donegal, having 23 fathoms: the Staggs of Uay Iſland, off the ſame coaſt, and diſtant from that iſland one mile, having from 12 to 18 fathoms: Hulen Rock, off the coaſt of Antrim, and about ſeven miles diſtant therefrom, having from 9 to 57 fathoms: and Rock-a-bill, four miles from

* The dangerous bay of Tramore, in the county of Waterford, being liable to be miſtaken for the entrance of Waterford harbour, has frequently proved fatal to mariners little acquainted with the coaſt.

Skerries,

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Skerries, in the county of Dublin, having from 9 to 18 fathom of water around it.

From Dublin harbour, indeed, to the Saltee iſlands, there are many ſand banks and ſome rocks. From Ballard's Point to Hag's Head, in the county of Clare, there is a dangerous bay, the proper name of which is Mul Bay, but which is not unſuitably called Mal Bay. And from Goulin Head, in the county of Galway, to Buinaha Point, in that of Mayo, there are a very conſiderable number of rocks, partly viſible, and partly but chiefly below the ſurface of the ſea, which render the navigation, in this ſpace, extremely hazardous in bad weather.

But ſtill, after theſe exceptions, it will be found that 685 miles, or upwards of ſix-eighths of the coaſt of Ireland are almoſt entirely free from any hidden danger.

That England and Wales can boaſt of no ſuch exemption is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the eaſtern coaſt of the former, and the weſtern and northern coaſts of the latter; and might be inferred by others from the much greater frequency of ſhipwrecks on the coaſt of England than on that of Ireland.

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SECTION II.

Rivers.—Roads.

Rivers. NAVIGABLE rivers, canals, and good roads, by facilitating the tranſportation of the produce of the ſoil and the materials for its improvement, not only tend to ſecure a country againſt famine, inaſmuch as ſeaſons very ſeldom occur which are equally unpropitious to every ſpecies of ſoil and variety of ſituation, but conduce, in an eminent manner, to the ſucceſs of cultivation on the one hand, and on the other, prevent that diſcouragement which the cultivators might experience in conſequence of a recurrent depreciation of the value of their corn, occaſioned by their inability to tranſport the caſual redundancies thereof to other diſtricts where comparative ſcarcity might prevail.

From agriculture home manufactures naturally ſpring; and, in the courſe of time, many of theſe, if duly encouraged and protected, become valuable articles of export.

The perfection of manufacturing induſtry depends altogether on the diviſion of labour; and the degree to which that diviſion is puſhed in every manufacture is governed by the extent of the market. Accordingly in thoſe parts of a country which have little or no communication with the reſt, an individual often exerciſes ſeveral of thoſe trades which, in other parts more happily circumſtanced, are exerciſed with more than tenfold effect by diſtinct perſons.

Navigable rivers, canals and even good roads, by connecting the different parts of a country together, open an extenſive market for the varied produce of the induſtry of its inhabitants; and thereby induce that ſubdiviſion of labour which enables them to ſupply home conſumers at the cheapeſt rate, and to furniſh a ſurplus for exportation.

In reſpect of navigable rivers, thoſe great auxiliaries of the two great efficient cauſes of national wealth, agriculture and internal trade, no country will be found more favorably circumſtanced than Ireland.

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In addition to a vaſt number of rivers, ſeveral of them them navigable, many of them conſiderable, which loſe themſelves in others, in the interior parts of the country, there are in Ireland, excluſive of ſmall ſtreams, one hundred and twenty-five which flow directly and immediately into the ſea, or its different inlets.

The maritime countries compriſe, as before noticed, two-thirds of the land of Ireland. Each of them has from two to twelve of theſe rivers in proportion to the extent of its ſea-coaſt; nor, with the exception of Wicklow, is there one of them which has not the advantage of one or more rivers, either actually navigable, to a very conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, or capable of being rendered ſo at a moderate expence *.

Many of the inland counties likewiſe participate this advantage with thoſe on the coaſt. Indeed there is not one of them which might not be rendered capable of enjoying it.

The names of ſeveral of the Iriſh rivers which flow immediately into the ſea are omitted in all the maps and charts which have fallen under the writer's obſervation; and, in ſome inſtances, different names have been given to the ſame river by different geographers and topographers. The liſt below is the beſt which he has been able to form †.

A de-

* The grand and royal canals actually give the county of Dublin all the advantages of internal navigation. It has, therefore, been included in the remark, though the Liffey can ſcarcely be ſaid to entitle it to be ſo, being navigable for ſmall boats only to Chapelized.

† Arigadeen,	Black-water,	Dundalk-river,	Glenely,
Arrow,	Bonnow,	Earne,	Glenachy,
Aſkeaton river,	Boyne,	Eaſk,	Glendon,
Aughnacloy,	Brickey,	Eſky,	Glenſheſk,
Awinbanna,	Bunroſs,	Fane,	Glyde,
Awinea,	Buſh,	Fartrey,	Guibarra,
Awinmore, Mayo,	Carnamort,	Fartin,	Guidore,
Awinmore, Sligo.	Carra,	Faughan,	Ileen,
Awinbuy,	Clandagh,	Fergus,	Inny,
Ballibough river,	Coyle,	Flurry,	Inver,
Bann,	Cumhola,	Foyle,	Kilkeel,
Bandon,	Cuſhin,	Fourmile water,	Lackah,
Bannow,	Clare,	Garroag,	Lagan,
Ballinahinch river,	Dargel,	Glanmire,	Larne river,
Barrow,	Dee,	Glanmoy,	Lane,
Black-river,	Dodder,	Glenarm,	Lee, Cork,

Lee,

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A detailed deſcription of ſuch of theſe rivers as are, or might be, rendered ancillary to commerce, can ſcarcely be expected in a work of this nature; and might perhaps be deemed unneceſſary. Some of them, however, appear to be of ſuch vaſt importance, in a commercial point of view, as to merit particular notice.

The noble river Shannon, conſidered in all reſpects, may fairly be ranked high in the firſt claſs of European rivers. Compared with the Thames, it appears upon the whole to very great advantage. A few ſunken rocks, it is true, render certain parts of its navigable courſe ſomewhat difficult from Limerick to Achniſh iſland; but the ſhoals which lie crouded together at the mouth of the Thames, would make the navigation thereof perhaps impracticable if the buoys were removed. The mouth of the Shannon, as was before obſerved, forms a capacious bay, eight miles long, and ſeven where broadeſt, perfectly free from every ſpecies of danger, and from the inconvenience of a ſtrong current. In this reſpect, as indeed, in almoſt all others, it excels both the Severn and the Thames. Its navigable courſe, from abreaſt of Kerry Head to Ballintrane Bridge at the entrance of Lough Allen, through which it paſſes from Lough Clean, where it takes its riſe, is 170 miles long. It widens into ſeveral deep and extenſive lakes; and is ſwelled by the following tributary rivers, beſides forty-five leſſer ſtreams: the Arigna, the Boyle, the Carnadoe, the Cloonort, the Camlin, the Inny, the Suck, the Great Broſna, the Little Broſna, the Roſſmore, the Fergus, the Black-water, the Maig, the Oilmill, the Aſkeaton, the Ballylongford, the Fuoras, the Leitrim, the Killucan, the Waſhpool, the Fallen, the Fuſcrus, the Ovan, the Cloonaſtra, the Newer, the Ballyſhruil, the Ahur, the Killmaſtulla, the Groody, the Mulkerna, and the Aſſullas; in all 76. Of theſe, ſeven, viz. the Camlin, Inny, Suck, Carnadoe, the great and little Broſna, and the Boyle, waſhing the

Lee, Kerry,	Moy,	Owenerrive,	Shannon,
Liffey,	Moyalla,	Oilmill,	Slaney,
Mahon,	Munree,	Phenix,	Suir,
Maig,	Nanny-water,	Reel,	Swilly,
Malahide-river,	Newport-river,	Roe,	Swords-river,
Mang,	Nore,	Roughty,	Tay.
L. Melvin-river,	Ovoca,	Roaring-water,	
Middleton-river,	Owna,	Screeb,	

 inland

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inland countries of Roſcommon, Longford, Weſtmeath, and the King's County, might be rendered fit for the purpoſe of internal navigation at an eaſy expenſe, according to the report of an experienced engineer, Mr. Jeſſop, made in 1794, to the directors of the grand canal.

Beſides theſe ſeven rivers, thus pointed out, as having fair claims on the public purſe, there are ſeveral others of the foregoing ones which, if due encouragement be given to the internal trade of Ireland, ſeem likely to afford great profits to ſkilful and liberal undertakers. A communication might be opened between Limerick and Sligo, by the Shannon, at no great expence; as Lough Clean, from which that river flows, is but four miles from the river Bonnet, which carries boats into Lough Gilly, and thence to Sligo.

But there is another conſideration which gives the river Shannon a high degree of pre-eminence above thoſe few rivers which may be compared with it in length and width, that of its flowing, and receiving other navigable rivers which flow through the moſt fertile counties in Ireland, through ſome of the richeſt diſtricts that are any where to be found.

The northern part of the county of Kerry and the ſouthern part of that of Clare, which lie contiguous to the Shannon, and very conſiderable parts of the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Roſcommon, and Galway, which are waſhed by that river, and its tributary ſtreams, are of unrivalled fertility. The baronies of Owna and Arra, and lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, and the land near the bay of Scarriff, in the county of Clare, produce the beſt and earlieſt grain of all ſorts in Ireland.

If conveniency of water-carriage and fruitfulneſs of ſoil conduce to the increaſe of commercial opulence, the diſtrict, through which this noble river flows, ought to exhibit as ſtriking evidences of accumulated wealth as any other diſtrict of equal magnitude in the world. But alas! the nature of the policy long purſued in Ireland has hitherto rendered theſe and other advantages of little avail.

The courſe of the Shannon from Lough Allen to Banagher is ſoutherly; from thence to Limerick, ſouth-ſouth weſt; and from thence to the ſea weſterly.

The river next entitled to conſideration is the Barrow. Its direction is due ſouth; and for about twenty-five miles it runs nearly parallel with the Shannon; from whence it is diſtant about thirty-eight miles, the meaſurement

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ſurement being taken from Athy, on the former, to Banagher on the latter. It is perfectly navigable for the ſpace of ſixty-eight miles from the tower of Hook, on the coaſt of Wexford, to the town of Athy, in the county of Carlow; and waters the fertile counties of Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny. It has the river Slaney on the eaſt, from the navigable part whereof at Enniſcorthy it is diſtant ſixteen miles, and on the ſouth-weſt it has the river Nore, from whence it is diſtant nine miles.

The river Suir, the courſe of which from Clonmel to the ſea is nearly eaſt, ſeparates the rich county of Tipperary and that of Kilkenny from the county of Waterford. It unites its water with thoſe of the Barrow and the Nore; and the confluent rivers are ſoon loſt in the ſea. From its navigable part at Clonmel to that of the river Blackwater at Cappoquin, which lies to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt of the former, the diſtance is only ſeventeen miles; and from Carrick between Clonmel and Waterford to the river Nore at Kilkenny, lying nearly north, the diſtance is twenty-two miles; and from within three miles of Caſhel, where the Suir is ſtill a reſpectable river, to the Shannon near Limerick the diſtance is twenty-five miles only. It is navigable for forty-three miles from the entrance of Waterford harbour to Clonmel.

The river Nore, which takes a ſouth-eaſterly courſe flows nearly through the middle of the county of Kilkenny; and unites with the Barrow near the town of Roſs, and with the Suir a few miles lower down. It is navigable to Bennet's-bridge, diſtant from the tower of Hook forty-one miles.

The river Blackwater, which paſſes through the weſtern part of the county of Waterford, and waſhes a great tract of uncommonly rich land in the northern baronies of the county of Cork, flows towards the ſea in an eaſterly direction until it reaches Cappoquin; from thence it proceeds in a ſoutherly one. From the town of Mallow, ſituated thereon, to the town of Aſkeaton, the river whereof falls into the Shannon within two miles from the town, the diſtance is thirty-four miles; and from Mallow to Adair ſituated on the river Maig, which flows through one of the richeſt diſtricts in the world, and falls into the Shannon, the diſtance is leſs than thirty miles in a northerly direction. The river Blackwater is already navigable to Coppoquin, diſtant from the ſea fifteen miles; and, according to an eſtimate preſented to the Houſe of Commons ſhortly before the Union, might be rendered navigable to the coal

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coal-pits near Kanturk, diſtant from Cappoquin forty-three miles, for the ſum of 50,000l.

No eſtimate of the expences likely to be incurred in forming the canal from the river Maig to the Blackwater, which was in comtemplation in the early part of the laſt century, has to the writer's knowledge been as yet made. If the work were to coſt near half a million, which is utterly impoſſible, it certainly would be well worth the money; as in the event of its being compleated, and the Blackwater rendered navigable to Mallow, there would be a continued navigation throughout the moſt fertile and productive parts of Ireland, from Youghal to Limerick, thence to Dublin, thence to Waterford and thence, by ſea, for a few miles, to to Youghal: a circuit, excluſive of the ſea, of upwards of three hundred miles, beſides the connected navigation from Banagher on the Shannon, to the coal and iron ground at Arigna near the ſource of that river, and alſo the navigation of the rivers which flow into the Shannon. This, if conſidered in all reſpects, would be perhaps the moſt valuable work of internal navigation in Europe. The ſupplies which, by means of it, might be drawn to the ports of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, and Youghal, would be incalculably great; and the induſtry of theſe great towns would be proportionately ſtimulated by the growing demands of the thriving inhabitants of a vaſt tract of fertile country.

The river Slaney which runs nearly ſouth from Tullow in the county of Carlow, through the middle of that of Wexford, and where navigable at Enniſcorthy, is but 16 miles from the river Barrow, is 38 miles in length from the town firſt mentioned to Wexford, and navigable about 13 miles from the ſea.

The Cuſhin, which flows through one of the richeſt parts of the county of Kerry, receiving the rivers Geale and Feale, takes a north-weſt direction, and falls into the Shannon's mouth. It is navigable 10 miles.

The noble river Bann which runs north, almoſt in a ſtrait line from Lough-Neagh to the ſea, ſeparating the counties of Derry and Antrim, is 28 miles long, between the Lough and Colerain; it might be rendered navigable from Portglenone bridge to Colerain about 19 miles, according to Mr. Whaley's eſtimate, for 15,300l. 17s. 6d. It is diſtant about 30 miles from another noble river the Foyle, which runs nearly parallel with it. On the other ſide of the Lough its kindred river the

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ſouth Bann, flowing in a ſoutherly direction through the county of Armagh, joins the Newry canal, and thus opens a communication between Lough-Neagh in the midſt of four countries, and the harbour of Carlingford, affording, with the aid of the Lagan, to the populous, induſtrious, and wealthy county of Down, all the benefits of internal navigation.

The broad river Foyle, from its confluence with the rivers Finn and Mourne to its entrance into the Lough, which bears its name and conſtitutes the harbour of Londonderry, is 20 miles long, and in moſt parts, upwards of half a mile broad. It flows from Strabane, in a north-eaſt direction, through the counties of Tyrone, Donegal and Londonderry; and is diſtant but ſeven miles from that ſingularly capacious harbour Lough-Swilly, with the ſouth-eaſt extremity, of which it runs parallel about 13 miles. It is navigable for lighters of 50 tons burden from Londonderry to Lifford, about 19 miles, and for boats of 14 tons to Caſtlefin, about ſix miles farther.

The Guibarra, in the county of Donegal, takes a ſouth-weſt direction, is diſtant about ſix miles from the river Swilly which loſes itſelf in the Lough of the ſame name, and is broad and deep for the ſpace of 15 miles. The river Moy, which receives ſome of its water from the great lake called Lough-Conn, ſeparates the counties of Mayo and Sligo, both of which, in the neighbourhood of the river, are extremely fertile. It runs northward into Killala bay, the diſtance between which and the ſouthern extremity of the lake is about 16 miles. It is navigable for veſſels of 50 tons burden from the ſea to Killala, and for ſmaller veſſels about nine miles up the country.

To open a communication between Killala and Galway, by means of this and other rivers, was one of the practicable projects of thoſe who were employed to ſurvey the navigable rivers of Ireland in the early part of the laſt century; and certainly, if carried into effect, would have proved a moſt important addition to the internal navigations of this country.

The river Boyne flowing through the rich county of Meath, and waſhing the ſouthern limb of the fruitful county of Louth, winds through the former in a north-eaſt direction, and with its canal is navigable from its embouchure to Navan, a ſpace of 21 miles. It approaches within 15 miles of lake Deryvragh, from which by the river Inny, eaſily

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eaſily made navigable, there is a communication with the Shannon.

The river Lagan, flowing in a north-eaſt direction between the counties of Down and Antrim, is, with its canal, navigable about twenty-two miles from Belfaſt to Lough Neagh; and, together with the Newry canal, the Bann, the Blackwater, which is navigable about ten miles, and the lake, may be ſaid to render the navigation of the north-eaſt part of Ireland complete.

The river Bandon, in the county of Cork, winds in a ſouth-eaſt direction, and falls into the ſea at Kinſale. It is navigable from the harbour's mouth for thirteen miles, and is diſtant only thirty-five miles from Mallow, on the Blackwater, before deſcribed.

The Swilly alſo is a conſiderable river, flowing into the lough of the ſame name, and diſtant from the neareſt part of the Foyle ten miles, and from the Guibarra ſeven.

The river Earne, with its double lake, might eaſily be rendered capable of affording the vaſt benefits of internal navigation to conſiderable diſtricts in the north-weſtern and inland counties. The communication between the lake and the ſea is actually undertaken.

The river Lung, in the county of Máyo, flowing into Lough Gara, is navigable about ten miles; and a very trifling expenditure would complete the navigation into the Shannon, and thus open a tract of extremely rich country.

The river Suck, flowing through a very fertile country, is navigable from the Shannon to Ballinaſloe; and might eaſily be rendered ſo many miles farther.

There are ſeveral other navigable rivers in Ireland, ſuch as thoſe beforementioned, which flow into the Shannon, the Awinbuy, or Carrigoline river, in the county of Cork, the Middleton river in the ſame county, &c. &c. which actually conduce, or may be rendered greatly conducive, to the extenſion of agriculture and internal trade; but it ſeems unneceſſary to deſcribe them here. The foregoing ones, flowing in all directions through the country, through the richeſt, and it may be added, the moſt beautiful parts of it, in moſt inſtances at no great diſtance from each other; and, moreover, falling into ſuch harbours as thoſe of Belfaſt, Lough Swilly, Carlingford, Waterford, Londonderry, Wexford, Youghal, Kinſale, the Shannon,

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Shannon, and Killala, are evidently ſufficient to facilitate, in almoſt every part of Ireland, the enjoyment of the utmoſt benefits that an induſtrious people can hope to derive from internal and external commerce.

So numerous are the rivers of Ireland, in proportion to its ſize, and ſo abundant the ſupply of water, that we may ſafely ſay, almoſt every pariſh might enjoy the benefits of internal navigation, at an expence which, one place with another, many a company of Britiſh undertakers would diſregard; and that very few parts of Ireland, comparatively ſpeaking, would be found ineligible for the eſtabliſhment of manufactures through a deficiency of water, or the want of water-carriage. Of 248 mills for grinding corn, erected in Ireland between the years 1758 and 1790, every one, as far as the writer can learn, is turned by water. Windmills are in no country leſs common, or leſs neceſſary, than in this.

In reſpect of navigable rivers, as well as relative ſituation and harbours, Ireland certainly has the advantage of England. If the beſt eighteen rivers in the latter be duly compared, in every particular, with thoſe which have juſt been imperfectly deſcribed, the inferiority of the Engliſh rivers, upon the whole, will be clearly perceived. The Thames, the Severn, the Humber, the Medway, the Dee, the Merſey, the Lon, the Orwell, the Yare, and the Ribble, have, all of them, ſand-banks at their entrance, which, except in the inſtance of the Slaney *, is not the caſe with any of the Iriſh rivers; and which render the navigations, in thoſe important parts, intricate, and, in ſome inſtances, dangerous †. Their ſtreams are not, for the moſt part, near ſo copious, nor do they flow through ſuch extremely fertile land as the rivers of Ireland. The Tweed, Tyne, Tees, Were, Wye, and Avon are, no doubt, fine rivers; but in ſeveral reſpects they will be found to fall ſhort of a conſiderable number of thoſe of which Ireland can boaſt.

* There are two ſand-banks at the entrance of Wexford harbour, into which the Slaney flows; but the channel between them is half a mile broad, and only one mile and a quarter long. The bar at Youghal is not of ſuch a nature as to render the Blackwater a ſecond exception.

† The Ouſe, Derwent, and Air, which fall into the Humber, are obviouſly included in this remark.

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The following extract from the act 2 G. I. c. 12, will ſupply the place of ſuch further obſervations as might have been made on the practicable navigations of Ireland.

This act, as the title and preamble denote, had a twofold object in view, namely, the proſecution of internal navigation, and the draining and improving of the bogs and waſte lands, which were very extenſive in Ireland in the early part of the laſt century. The preamble, which is worth notice, runs thus: "Whereas the great tracts of bogs and waſte lands, which encumber the midland parts of this kingdom, are not only loſt and uſeleſs to the owners, impaſſable and inacceſſible in themſelves, but a bar and hindrance to the inland commerce of the habitable remainder, a retreat and harbour form alefactors, and an occaſion of a *corrupt* air." (an opinion, by the way, which facts have fully proved to be utterly erroneous.) "And whereas by *a ſurvey and eſtimate already made*, of the ſeveral rivers, bogs, and other intermediate tracts, whoſe names, together with the courſe, ſituation, and extent of every of them reſpectively, are hereafter in this act ſpecified, it is judged and repreſented that the ſame are, and that every of them reſpectively, is *fit and capable to be made navigable* and communicable together, as hereafter in this act is ſet forth; and that the making ſuch navigable and communicable paſſages for boats and other veſſels of burthen to paſs to and from the ſaid midland country into the ſaid principal rivers, and thence to the principal ſea-ports of this kingdom, hereafter in this act named, would not only open a cheap and expeditious communication between His Majeſty's ſubjects inhabiting the ſeveral parts of his ſaid kingdom, but would alſo facilitate, and, by the benefit of ſuch maſter-drains, in a good meaſure effect the draining, recovering, peopling, and improving the ſaid bogs and loſt grounds, and thereby recover and enlarge both the land and product of this kingdom, create profitable employments for the poor, and increaſe the revenue and public funds of the nation in proportion to the trade, wealth, numbers, and employments of the people thereof; be it therefore enacted," &c.

The proviſions of this act, together with thoſe of other acts of a ſimilar nature, ſhall be conſidered in the ſecond part of this work. At preſent it is unneceſſary to proceed farther than merely to lay before the reader the ſeveral works which the framers of it had in view, and the reſult which the completion thereof would have produced. The intended works were

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as follows: viz. to render navigable part of the *Liffey*, the *Rye*, part of the *Boyne*, the *Mungah* and *Broſna*, and to make canals betwixt them, bearing ſouth-weſt from Dublin and falling into the *Shannon* at Banagher; to make the *Barrow* navigable from Roſs to the grand canal leading from Dublin to Limerick; to make the *Upper* and *Lower Bann* navigable from Newry to Colerain; to make the *Nore* navigable, or extend the navigation thereof from Waterford and Roſs to the grand canal at Eyrecourt; to make the *Liffey* navigable from Dublin to Killcullen, and thence into the *Barrow* at Carlow; to make the *Blackwater* navigable from Youghall to Newmarket; to make the *Foyle* and part of the *Finnderg* and *Mourne* navigable from Londonderry to Omagh; to make the *Earne* navigable from Ballyſhannon to Killiſhandra; to make navigable, or employ in navigations, the *Martin*, the *Cloydagh*, part of the *Blackwater*, the *Ownbeg*, and *Maig*, between Cork and Limerick; to make the *Uncion*, the *Arrow*, and part of the *Boyle* navigable from Sligo into the *Shannon* at Carrick; to perfect a navigation by the *Corb*, *Maſk*, and *Moy* from Galway to Killala; to make the *Slaney* navigable from Wexford to Baltinglaſs; to make the *Suir* navigable to Roſcrea; to make the *Colgan* navigable, or extend its navigation from Galway into the Shannon; to make the *Inny* navigable from Lough Shelan into the Shannon; to make the *Suck* navigable from Caſtlerea into the Shannon; to make the *Lee* navigable from Cork to Macroom; to make the *Bandon* navigable from Kinſale to Dunmanaway; and to make the *Lane* navigable from Caſtlemain harbour to Roſscaſtle.

Here are thirty-two rivers which, as the act recites, were found, by *actual ſurvey*, to be fit and capable of being rendered navigable, and whereof the united lengths, in addition to that of the Shannon, and thoſe of the projected canals, exceed one thouſand miles.

Had the propoſed works, therefore, been carried into effect, ten thouſand ſquare miles, or 6,400,000 acres would, at furtheſt, have been within five miles of ſome navigable river or canal. And if to this be added the ſinuous line of the Iriſh coaſt, compriſing 1737 miles, it will be ſeen that 18,685 ſquare miles, or 11,958,400 acres, which conſtitute almoſt two-third parts of the area of Ireland, would have lain within five miles of ſea, river, or canal. But even at a greater diſtance than this, the advantage of water-carriage would have been amply experienced. It muſt be obſerved

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too, that many other practicable navigations, such as that from Dublin to Tarmonbury on the Shannon, which is actually in progress, and complete as far as Coolnahay, five miles beyond Mullingar, or upwards of 58 miles*; that which was, a few years ago, in the contemplation of the Boyne navigation company, from Lough-Neagh to Dublin; that which might easily be made from the grand canal to the port of Arklow, or rather into the Slaney, and so to Wexford; that which might be carried, at a moderate expense, through the richest parts of the county of Monaghan, from Lough Earne to Lough Neagh, thus opening a second and most valuable communication between the eastern and western seas; and several others, which may be seen in the map, are not included herein.

There appears then to be sufficient ground for affirming, that almost every part of Ireland might be rendered capable of enjoying the various incalculable benefits necessarily resulting from an easy and general communication of all the differently gifted parts of an extensive country with each other: and this too, at an expense demonstrably far below the value of the works.

But when this great national advantage was presented to public view, by those who were capable of ascertaining it, Ireland was a mere land of pasture, thinly peopled, and poor. Private individuals had neither means, nor inducements sufficient to engage in the works proposed; and the government was neither competent, consistently with its prescribed expenses, nor, perhaps, in reality, willing to prosecute and complete them.

In our time, some of them have been executed. The completion of the remainder would confessedly contribute, in a signal manner, to the welfare of the empire: and three millions of money, faithfully and skilfully expended, would probably be more than sufficient for the purpose.

The lakes of Ireland which discharge their superfluous waters immediately into the sea, may also be considered, with reference to the benefits of commerce, as extremely important advantages. Of this description, are Loughs Neagh, Earne, Corrib, Conn, Nallenroe, Melvin, Arrow, Lilly, Rapharn and Furran, Ballinahinch Lough, the Lake of Killarney or Lough Lane, and several others of inferiour note. Of these, the most dis-

* The reader will remember that English miles and acres are always meant, when these measures are not otherwise specified.

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tinguiſhed are the double lake called Lough Earne, Lough Neagh, and Lough Corrib. The firſt, ſituated in the county of Fermanagh, covers 123,611 acres of land, and communicates with the Atlantic Ocean at the harbour of Ballyſhannon, diſtant about eight miles from the lake. The ſecond, compriſing 94,274 acres, is ſituated in the midſt of the counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone and Armagh; and forms the the fine river Bann by the diſcharge of its redundant water into the ſea, from which it is diſtant about 30 miles in that direction, and about 22 from the port of Belfaſt by the Lagan navigation. The third, in the county of Galway, ſpreads its waters over 50,700 acres, and diſembogues its ſurplus into the bay, from whence it is but three miles diſtant. Beſides the lakes already mentioned, there are ſeveral conſiderable ones in the interior of the country, particularly in the counties of Cavan and Weſtmeath, which might be rendered uſeful in proſecuting a more diverſified internal trade than has hitherto been carried on in Ireland.

Roads.—With the internal and moſt valuable trade of a country in view, its roads deſerve conſideration immediately after its navigable rivers and canals.

If agriculture, which Monteſquieu juſtly calls an immenſe manufacture, be chiefly regarded, and if it be moreover conſidered that a part of the wealth neceſſarily reſulting from a ſpirited and extenſive purſuit thereof, is moſt likely to be employed, with a view to a further increaſe, in improving the communication between the different parts of a country by means of canals, the vaſt importance of good roads will be abundantly manifeſt.

In reſpect of materials for the conſtruction of ſmooth and durable roads, no country in the world can be more happily circumſtanced than Ireland. With the exception of four or five counties, lime-ſtone, which is one of the beſt materials, is found in moſt diſtricts in the greateſt abundance; as is alſo, with the ſame exception, that incomparable material, lime-ſtone gravel. Roads properly repaired with theſe materials, ought, though much frequented, to laſt at leaſt ten years. The writer knows, by experience, that they may be made to laſt fifteen.

The expenſe of repairing worn-out roads in different parts of Ireland, one with another, ought certainly not to exceed ſix ſhillings the Iriſh perch

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perch of 21 feet. In the counties of Roſcommon, Donegal, Weſtmeath, Queen's county, Kildare and others taken together, the average price ought not, and if the writer be well informed, does not exceed five ſhillings. In other counties it is ſeven, in ſome more. In the extenſive county of Cork, which conſtitutes about one-eleventh part of Ireland, and in the different baronies whereof the wages of day labourers and the materials for roads, eſpecially the latter, are conſiderably different, the average charge, by the perch, as deduced by the writer from the charges in 128 preſentments on the ſeveral baronies, is 5s. 10d. In the county of Weſtmeath, the average charge, as deduced from 79 preſentments, is 5s. 2d. In the county of Meath, as deduced from 120, it is 6s. 9d. the average of all which is 5s. 11d. In very many places, in other counties, lime-ſtone gravel lies in hillocks or pits contiguous to the road; and requires little more labour than ſpreading. In the county of Kildare where the wages of day-labourers are higher than thoſe before mentioned, the roads may be repaired for four ſhillings the perch, though the gravel be at the diſtance of half a mile *.

Suppoſing, then, the average expenſe of repairing worn-out roads, throughout Ireland, to be ſix ſhillings the perch, the repair of a mile of road amounts to 96l. or as the road, if the work be fairly executed, ſhould laſt for ten years, to 9l. 12s. per annum. But if the roads were conſtantly attended to, as the turnpike roads in England, through neceſſity are, the expenſe would be infinitely leſs †. As the practice is at preſent in Ireland, 25,000 miles of road may be kept in good condition by an annual expenditure of 240,000l. And as the length of Ireland,

* See the ſtatiſtical ſurvey of that county.

† Among the preſentments at Lent aſſizes, 1807, on the county of Meath, there are two for keeping 19,681 perches, or 61¼ miles of road in repair for eight-pence per perch per annum, which is 10l. 13s. 4d. per mile. If repaired at 6s. 9d. per perch every 10 years, which is the average charge in the county, the coſt would be at the rate of 10l. 16s. per annum, or only 2s. 8d. more. But eight-pence per perch ſeems an extravagant charge. Among the preſentments of the county of Cork at the laſt Lent aſſizes, there is one for keeping in repair 16 miles of road at ſixpence per perch, per annum, which is but eight pounds per mile. If repaired every 10 years at 5s. 10d. per perch, which is the average charge in the county, the expenſe would be at the rate of 9l. 6s. 8d. per annum, or 1l. 6s. 8d. more. Even this ſeems too high. A ſimilar reduction of expenſe, however, throughout Ireland, would probably ſave upwards of 30,000l. a year.

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from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, taken on an average of three different lines, is 226 Iriſh miles, and the breadth, taken on a ſimilar average, 107, the number of miles before mentioned, viz. 25,000, would, after allowing 12 in every hundred for windings, give 60 roads, excluſive of turnpike roads, running nearly parallel from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt coaſt, at no greater diſtance from each other than two miles, and 120 roads interſecting the former, and running nearly parallel from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt coaſt, at about three miles diſtant from each other. In which caſe the roads would be, and indeed actually are, ſufficiently numerous.

About 30 years ago, when Mr. Arthur Young travelled through Ireland, he was greatly ſurprized at the vaſt ſuperiority of the Iriſh roads over thoſe of England. "For a country," ſays he, "ſo far behind us as Ireland, to have got ſuddenly ſo much the ſtart of us in the article of roads, is a ſpectacle that cannot fail to ſtrike the Engliſh traveller exceedingly *." "I could trace a rout upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and every where find beautiful roads without break or hindrance to enable me to realize my deſign. †"

Since that gentleman viſited Ireland, the roads have become much more numerous; and are, in general, in better condition. Sandy ſoils, ſo frequent in other countries, and which render the roads ſo heavy, unleſs the great expence of paving them be incurred, are nowhere to be met with in Ireland, except in a very few places near the coaſt.

In the early part of the laſt century, the Iriſh roads, now for the moſt part in ſuch high order, were in a wretched condition, notwithſtanding the convenience and abundance of materials for making and repairing them ‡. The occupiers of land in each pariſh were obliged by law to furniſh, for theſe purpoſes, horſes and carriages for ſix days in each week, and the peaſants were obliged to labour for the ſame ſpace of time.

* Tour vol. 2. p. 56. † Ib. p. 57.

‡ Mr. Brown, in a tract on the benefits ariſing from navigable rivers, publiſhed in Dublin in 1728, ſays, "the whole inland carriage of the country is performed by ſmall feeble cattle either in *high loads* which ſcarcely exceed two cwt. or on truckle cars, on which, in ſummer time, *when the roads are dry* and the cattle ſtrong, a horſe may draw about four cwt.; but in other ſeaſons of the year, there is little or no land carriage; for theſe little machines would be ſwallowed up in bad roads." He adds, "that the buſineſs of land carriage muſt be hurried on in one quarter of the year." p. 4.

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When this proved insufficient, the grand juries were empowered to raise whatever money might afterwards be found requisite to complete the work. But this compulsory labour, as might have been expected, became gradually ineffectual; and the money raised by the grand juries was very frequently misapplied. On the part of the legislature very little appears to have been done for a vast many years. In the reign of King William III. there was not a single road act passed; in that of Anne only two: and in that of George I. none.

In and before the reign of Queen Anne, it had been customary to raise money, for the purposes before mentioned, at the quarter sessions, as well as at the assizes; and the justices of the peace had the power of confirming presentments. Much money, however, having been raised contrary to law, and much of that which was legally raised having been misapplied, as the 4 A. c. 6. recites, it was enacted by that statute, that no presentment should be made by grand-juries for other purposes than were allowed by the laws; and that every grand juror who should present any money to be raised should sign his name; and that every judge of assize, justice of the peace, or seneschal confirming a presentment, should sign his name to the order for confirmation thereof; otherwise the presentment to be void; and that no greater sum than 20l. should be raised, at any quarter sessions, except for taking or killing tories, robbers, or rapparees.

A misuse of the public money, however, still prevailing, it was enacted by 6 G. I. c. 10, that no money should be raised for roads or bridges, unless two credible persons should swear that the work was necessary; it was also enacted, that the overseers should account on oath.

In order to guard against the effects of an influence, which was likely to be more effectually exerted at the quarter sessions than at the assizes, it was enacted by the 1 G. II. c. 13, that no money should be raised for making or repairing roads, or building bridges, &c. but at the latter; and it was also enacted that all new roads should be 30 feet broad; and that roads to be repaired should be paved or gravelled to the width of 12 feet.

The custom of mending the roads by means of compulsory labour, and which had prevailed from the reign of James I. having become extremely inefficacious, through the negligence and partiality of the overseers,

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and the natural reluctance of the perſons compelled to work, or to furniſh the neceſſary carriages and cattle, it was aboliſhed by the 33 G. II. c. 7. By this ſtatute alſo, the grand juries were empowered to preſent money, on the different baronies, for the repair of their reſpective roads, though ſuch repair ſhould require a greater ſum than 10l.: a power which had become neceſſary, as the money raiſed on the different counties had frequently, through the influence of perſons exerciſing ſubaltern patronage therein, been applied to the improvement of certain parts of the counties, in which their eſtates or manſions were ſituated, to the neglect of others. By this ſtatute it was alſo enacted, that old roads ſhould be widened to 21 feet in the clear; that no preſentment ſhould be granted for the repair of any ſuch being leſs than 21 feet wide; and that no new road ſhould be leſs than 30 feet wide, with 14 feet of gravel or ſtones.

From the year in which this act paſſed, viz. 1759, the condition of the Iriſh bye-roads has been progreſſively improving, and their number annually increaſing. So that at preſent, in proportion to its ſize, there are few countries which have ſo many, and not one perhaps which has ſo good roads as Ireland.

By the 11 & 12 G. III. c. 20. grand juries were empowered to grant preſentments for narrow roads through mountainous or unimproved parts; and by the 17 & 18 G. III. c. 22. they were empowered to contract for keeping roads in repair, and to preſent money for maps and ſurveys of counties. Precautions were alſo taken, in theſe and ſubſequent acts, againſt the practice of jobbing, which has ever prevailed, in a peculiar degree, in Ireland; and from which no aſſembly, authoriſed to raiſe money on the ſubject, from the Houſe of Commons to the veſtry, has been exempt *.

* Even among the charitable inſtitutions the practice of jobbing has been conſpicuous. In proof of this aſſertion, numberleſs facts might be adduced; one will ſuffice for the preſent. The expenſe per head of maintaining paupers, in the Houſe of Induſtry, in Dublin, under the old corporation, was 8l. 6s.: under the new corporation, appointed in 1797, when proviſions had become dearer, the expenſe was only 5l. 4s. 11d. the conſequent annual ſaving, on 1,718 paupers, was 5,247l. 1s. 2d. which therefore may be conſidered as the annual amount of diverſified jobbing, before the expenditure of the grants for the inſtitution in queſtion, was properly inquired into.

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The reader muſt here permit a ſhort digreſſion, for the purpoſe of making a few neceſſary obſervations, connected rather with this, than any other part of the work.

Several perſons have been in the habit of exclaiming againſt the magnitude of the ſum annually raiſed, by grand juries, on the people of Ireland; and which actually amounts to upwards of four times the ſum levied, on the land, 110 years ago, by 10 W. III. c. 3., for the ſupport of the government. But if a fair comparative view be taken of the conditions and intereſts of thoſe who generally compoſe the grand juries, and the conditions and intereſts of thoſe who compoſe a higher aſſembly, the ground of objecting to the preſent extenſive exerciſe of the powers with which the former are veſted, will appear to want ſufficient ſtrength. The mode of their appointment is, no doubt, theoretically much leſs becoming, with reference to the power of raiſing money on the ſubject, than that of the great conſtitutional guardians of the public purſe. But, in point of fact, as much perhaps may be urged againſt the mode in which a majority of the latter are elected, as againſt that of appointing the former. And as to the application of the money raiſed by theſe, thus much may be ſaid in its behalf, that no expenditure of public money has, as yet, been more ſtrictly combined with the perſonal or private intereſts of individuals, than that which is raiſed for making and repairing roads and bridges; and, accordingly, that no money granted for public works, has, of late, been, upon the whole, more faithfully expended and accounted for.

The practice of jobbing, it will, on the one hand, be freely admitted, ſtill continues to the ſcandal of ſome counties; but it muſt be confeſſed, on the other, by thoſe who have been made acquainted with the cuſtoms which were prevalent anteriour to the preſent reign, that that infamous practice is neither near ſo ſtriking, nor near ſo frequent as it formerly was.

In order to gratify individuals, whoſe influence may be concerned in the appointment of grand juries, money is ſometimes raiſed for making roads and bridges in places but little frequented, except by ſuch individuals themſelves or their tenants and neighbours. The intereſt, however, of theſe individuals ſecures the faithful expenditure of the money raiſed for their gratification; and excellent roads and bridges are in conſe-

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conſequence made: and, in proceſs of time, as agriculture extends and people increaſe, become of as great public utility as any others. Preſentments are likewiſe often, through miſtaken notions of friendſhip, on the part of grand jurors, granted to country gentlemen who ſeek them with no other view than that of giving profitable employment to their inferiour tenants and labourers; and who both ſhamefully and inconſiderately connive at a haſty and defective execution of the public work. But inſtances of downright jobbing, or rather peculation, ſuch as applying to private purpoſes the money granted for public works, do not, to the writer's knowledge, occur; and if they do, may eaſily be detected and prevented.

The intereſt indeed of every landlord ſtands in direct oppoſition to ſuch abominable peculation as this, or to any ſort of jobbing. And the landlords of Ireland have, in general, neceſſarily become much more vigilant with regard to their intereſt, as connected, in the articles of bridges and roads, with the intereſts of their tenants, than when their country was a mere land of paſture. Increaſed vigilance, however, has become indiſpenſably requiſite. The ſums, actually levied by preſentments, preſs moſt heavily upon the farmers; the intereſt therefore of their landlords obviouſly and imperiouſly requires that ſuch ſums be faithfully applied, and with the fulleſt effect.

As for the turnpike roads of Ireland, which, by the way, are infinitely leſs numerous, in proportion, than thoſe of England, they are, for the greater part, ſtill inferiour to the others; but, in conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of mail coaches, much better, in general, than they were a few years ago.

When Mr. Young was in Ireland, in the years 1776-7-8-9, he learnt, and his information on moſt ſubjects is extremely correct, that the money annually raiſed, by grand juries, for roads, bridges, jails, &c. amounted to 140,000l., or about 2¾d. per Iriſh acre. According to the returns preſented to parliament, it amounted, in the following years, to the annexed ſums *.

1803

* According to the returns preſented to parliament, there was raiſed, by the grand juries of the counties of Antrim, Carlow, Cork, Down, Kerry, Louth, Tipperary, and

 Wicklow,

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	£.	s.	d.
1803. - - -	390,998	11	10
1804. - - -	407,413	1	7
1805. - - -	465,263	18	10
1806. - - -	487,188	12	11

But theſe ſums are under the truth, as no returns of the money raiſed in the counties of Galway, Sligo, and Wexford, in all theſe *years, appear among the others. If 3d. per acre be allowed for the firſt, 6d. for the ſecond, and 1s. for the third, which will be found on examination to be a ſuitable allowance †, the ſum raiſed in the year 1806 will turn out to be 522,887l. 18s. 9d.; and the general average about 10¾d. per Iriſh acre; or near four times as much as it was 30 years ago: a ſtrong evidence, if others were wanting, of the rapid improvement of Ireland, ſince the rights thereof were ſeaſonably and ſpiritedly aſſerted.

It muſt be obſerved, however, that the wages of labour have riſen greatly in Ireland, during the laſt 30 years; much more than they did during the preceding 30; and, by the way, more than in England gene-

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Wicklow, in 1777, 44,008l. 3s. 9d. for roads, bridges, &c. If theſe eight counties conſtituted one fourth part of Ireland, this would afford ground for computing that the total ſum raiſed was 176,032l. 15s. But as they appear to contain 884,748 acres more than a fourth part, the ſum raiſed ſufficiently eſtabliſhes the accuracy of Mr. Young's information. Of the former ſum 29,397l. 5s. 1½d. was raiſed for making and repairing roads; which is not far from being proportionate to the ſum computed to be actually applied to that purpoſe.

The returns of the money raiſed by the grand juries, and tranſmitted by the ſeveral county treaſurers, antecedently to the year 1806, are ſo defective and diſſimilar, that no ſatisfactory deduction can be made from them. The writer has not ſeen the returns of the four years ended with 1806, in the Commons' Journals; but has taken them as they appeared in the different public newſpapers, among which he obſerved no variation in the figures. In truth it has become a very difficult matter for gentlemen, reſiding in Ireland, to obtain ſuch information reſpecting their country, as the lateſt Journals of parliament afford; the greater part of the members leaving theſe documents in London.

* The ſum raiſed on the county of Wexford, in 1802, was 14,284l. 16s. 11d., on Galway 16,265l. 19s. 3d., and on Sligo, in the ſummer aſſizes of 1802, and lent aſſizes 1803, 7,202l. 17s. 5½d.

† The ſum raiſed per acre on the county of Mayo has been applied to that of Galway; The ſum raiſed on Roſcommon to Sligo; and that on Waterford to Wexford.

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rally ſpeaking *, in the ſame period of time, or indeed in any period of equal extent, ſubſequent to the middle of the 17th century. In ſeven different diſtricts, in the counties, of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, Mr. Young found the average daily wages of labourers, throughout the year, to be 6$\frac{1}{7}$d., and thoſe of maſons and carpenters 1s. 5$\frac{1}{3}$d. The actual average wages of the former, in theſe three counties, according to returns made to the writer by the Roman Catholic parochial clergy, is near 10$\frac{1}{4}$d., and of the latter, 2s. 9$\frac{1}{2}$d.† The average daily wages of labourers, throughout all Ireland, Mr. Young found to be 6$\frac{1}{2}$d. The actual average in 15 counties, whereof ſtatiſtical ſurveys have been publiſhed, appears to exceed 10d.; and with this riſe, that of the wages of country-artificers has been commenſurate; another unequivocal proof of the increaſed opulence of Ireland ‡.

But after making due allowance for this great and well authenticated increaſe of wages, and for ſome additional demands on the counties ſtill it appears that the public works, annually undertaken for the improvement of the country, are at preſent twice as numerous or extenſive as they were 30 years ago.

The following ſums are the greateſt that were raiſed on the ſeveral counties, in any one year, within the period of four years, ending with 1806:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
3d, Antrim - -	24,540	9	8	4th, Kerry - -	16,306	3	1
3d, Armagh - -	17,819	19	0	4th, Kildare - -	11,318	3	7
2d, Carlow - -	6,309	17	8$\frac{3}{4}$	2d, Kilkenny - -	15,531	2	8
4th, Cavan - -	14,495	17	3	4th, King's County -	10,969	2	8
4th, Clare - -	23,441	18	7	3d, Leitrim - -	7,704	2	9
3d, Cork - -	48,108	15	11	4th, Limerick - -	21,574	4	4
4th, Donegal - -	25,922	17	6	4th, Londonderry -	18,954	5	9
4th, Down - -	21,872	11	6	1ſt, Longford - -	6,843	10	4
1ſt, Dublin - -	10,369	8	0	2d, Louth - -	9,693	10	2
4th, Farmanagh -	7,760	10	0	4th, Mayo - -	14,295	15	2

* The price of labour in England, when Mr. Young made his tour through it, was 7s. 6d. per week; 20 years after, he found it 8s. 5d.

† See Appendix, Nos. XIX. XX. XXI.

‡ "The liberal reward of labour," ſays Dr. Adam Smith, "as it is the neceſſary effect, ſo it is the natural ſymptom of increaſing national wealth." Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 74.

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3d, Meath	- -	25,139	4	1	4th, Tyrone	- -	19,509	10	8
3d, Monaghan	- -	11,328	10	8	3d, Waterford	-	13,770	8	7
4th, Queen's County		11,738	1	0	3d, Weſtmeath	- -	11,627	0	0
1ſt, Roſcommon	-	10,584	11	8	3d, Wicklow	- -	7,889	13	6
4th, Tipperary	-	39,839	9	7					

☞ The figures prefixed to the names of the counties denote the year of the period in which the greateſt ſum was raiſed.

In the county of Cork, the ſums raiſed by the grand jury, in 10 years and a half, ending with ſpring aſſizes 1807., were as follows, viz.

	£.	ſ.	d.		£.	ſ.	d.
1797. - -	14,392	12	1	1803. - -	33,959	10	11½
1798. - -	18,797	8	2	1804. - -	34,655	13	10
1799. - -	23,369	8	5	1805. - -	48,108	15	11
1800. - -	25,968	6	9½	1806. - -	43,228	0	9
1801. - -	32,764	8	0	Spring aſſizes.			
1802. - -	35,994	2	8½	1807. - -	26,289	1	8

The annual expenſes of the police eſtabliſhment, included in the foregoing ſum, were, in 1797, at 6l. per man, 960l.; from that year to 1801, at 12l. per man, 1920l.; afterwards at 10l. per man, 1600l.

Of the ſum raiſed in 18 months, ended with ſpring aſſizes 1807, viz. 69,517l. 2s. 5d., the preſentments, on the different baronies, for repairing and making roads, amounted to 38,493l. 17s. 4d.; which was 7,470l. 12s. 3d. more than for all other purpoſes. In the counties of Meath and Weſtmeath, the preſentments on the baronies, in the year 1805, bore a much greater proportion to the county preſentments than thoſe in Cork.

If, in all the different counties, the preſentments for roads bore the ſame proportion to thoſe for all other purpoſes as in Cork, there muſt have been appropriated to the former purpoſe, 289,539l. 17s. 6d. out of the aggregate ſum of 522,887l. 18s. 9d. before ſtated to have been raiſed by the ſeveral grand juries in the year 1806; and conſequently there might have been repaired, at the average rate before mentioned of ſix ſhillings the perch, 2,500 miles of road, after leaving upwards of 1,500l. to each county, on an average, for making new roads. And of courſe, if the roads were repaired ſo as to laſt 10 years, the annual expenditure of the ſum before mentioned, after a moſt ample deduction for new roads, would keep in repair 25,000 miles of road.

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What part of the aggregate ſum, raiſed by the different grand juries, is jobbed away, or negligently expended, it is not eaſy to conjecture. That a very conſiderable part is ſo, may be inferred from what has been ſaid, and will not be denied. Thoſe, however, who have witneſſed the excellent condition of the roads in moſt diſtricts, in Ireland, will no doubt readily lend an ear to the ſtrong objections which might be urged againſt transferring, from the country-gentleman to any other quarter, the power of raiſing money, on the land, at leaſt for the repair and conſtruction of roads and bridges, the goodneſs and durability of which are evidently conducive to both their intereſt and convenience.

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SECTION III.

Climate.—Minerals and Foſils.—Fiſheries.

Climate. THOSE who ſeek for more detailed information, reſpecting the climate of Ireland, than can be given in this work, conſiſtently with its nature, are referred to Mr. Hamilton's ingenious memoir, on that ſubject, publiſhed among the tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy*; to the obſervations of the celebrated Mr. Kirwan, which are alſo to be found among theſe tranſactions; and to Dr. Rutty's natural hiſtory of the county of Dublin.

Nature, it is true, has not beſtowed, on Ireland, a climate fit for the culture of the vine, the olive, the lemon, or for that of ſeveral other of thoſe articles which conſtitute important branches of trade in the more ſouthern countries of Europe; but ſhe certainly has not withheld, from Ireland, a climate highly favourable to health and longevity, to the labour of man, and to the production of ſuch articles of food as deſerve a place among the real neceſſaries of life.

In reſpect of mildneſs and equability, qualities of a very advantageous nature, the climate of Ireland is ſurpaſſed by very few, if by any other in Europe. At a time, when, in conſequence of the unreclaimed and uncleared ſtate of the country, the climate muſt neceſſarily have been inferiour to what it now is, Giraldus Cambrenſis ſpoke of it in the following terms: "Terra terrarum temperatiſſima, nec Cancri calor exæſtuans compellit ad umbras, nec ad focos Capricorni rigor invitat, aeris amœnitate temperieque tempora fere cuncta tepeſcunt †." Its general mildneſs, indeed is ſuch, that, except in the northern counties, the rich paſtures, or thoſe which have been fairly treated, exhibit, in the midſt of winter, the moſt beautiful verdure imaginable, affording ſuſtenance to cattle throughout the year. The rigours of the winter, which, together with the ſcantineſs of natural manures, render the beaſt-houſe and foddering yard primary objects of the farmer's attention, in other countries, are ſeldom, and in few parts,

* Vol. vi.

† Topog. Hib. c. 25.

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experienced in Ireland. And accordingly, there is not a country in Europe, north of the Alps, where places for the accommodation of cattle are ſo rarely to be found. To a want of capital among the farmers this circumſtance has generally been aſcribed; and to ſuch want it is, no doubt, in ſome degree, aſcribable. Had loſs or injury of cattle, however, been the conſequence of their expoſure to the weather, it is certain that, in a country ſo much dependant on paſture as Ireland has been, proper places for their reception, during the winter, would have been every where made at the expence either of tenant or landlord. A very great proportion of the fat cattle ſent to Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, are never houſed. The cattle ſlaughtered in the market of Cork in the months of February and March, with the exception of thoſe fattened at the diſtilleries, are, eight out of ten, fattened wholly on graſs. The dairy cows in the province of Munſter are never, through downright neceſſity, houſed. In a part of the county of Kerry the people often leave their potatoes in the beds without additional covering during the winter; and they have been known to obtain two crops of corn from the ſame land within the year *.

The vigorous growth of arbutus and myrtle in ſeveral parts of the ſouth of Ireland, and in elevated ſituations, ſufficiently evinces the general mildneſs of the winters.

The intenſe froſts which ſo long interrupt the labours of the huſbandman, and obſtruct internal navigation in other countries, and the heavy ſnows which ſo long render the roads impaſſable, are but rarely and tranſiently experienced in Ireland. During the latter part of the year 1806, and the early part of 1807, there was only one ſlight fall of ſnow in the ſouthern parts of the county of Cork, while there were very heavy and deſtructive ones in the ſame parallel of latitude in England †. On the 11th, 12th, and 13th of February 1808, the weather was uncommonly ſevere throughout the latter, but by no means ſo in the former. In England the ſnow, in many places, lay ſeveral feet deep: in the ſouth of Ireland none fell, except on the tops of the mountains. The winter, however, of 1807,

* Young's Tour, vol. II. p. 127.

† "The late fall of ſnow has been ſo heavy in many diſtricts, that the cattle in expoſed ſituations have ſuffered very conſiderably. Of the great number of ſheep in Borough Fen, near Stamford, only 600 could be dug out; the reſt were buried in the ſnow. Many men and beaſts alſo loſt their lives. Upwards of 2000 ſheep are ſaid to have periſhed in Romney Marſh on Wedneſday ſe'nnight." *Extract from the St. James's Chronicle, March 10th*, 1807.

and ſpring of 1808 were, at intervals, more ſevere in Ireland than during many years before.

The atmoſphere of Ireland is certainly more humid than that of England; but, according to the obſervations which the writer has been in the habit of making in both countries, for ſeveral years, the rains are neither heavier nor more frequent in the former than in the latter *. It is to be obſerved

* The truth of this remark ſeems ſufficiently confirmed by the following compariſon: No. I. is the reſult of an account of rain kept, at the deſire of the Dublin ſociety, by Mr. Underwood, head gardener in the Botanic garden belonging to that ſociety at Glaſneven, and tranſcribed from his book by the writer. No. II. is extracted from different volumes of the Tranſactions of the Royal Society.

No. I.

Rain-Guage at Glaſneven near Dublin.									
Years.									
1803.		1804.		1805.		1806.		1807.	
Inches.	Parts.	Inches.	Parts.	Inches.	Parts.	Inches.	Parts	Inches.	Parts.
18	97	29	72	22	47	24	49	26	50

No. II.

Rain-Guages in different Parts of England.					
Hampſhire, by T. White, Eſq.			Apartments of the Royal Society.		
	Inches.	Parts.	Years.	Inches.	Parts.
Feb. 1763 to Jan. 1764	32	125	1793	17	128
1 Year from Jan. 1774	35	235	1794	18	464
1775	31	699			
Rutlandſhire, by T. Baker, Eſq.			Rutlandſhire, by Mr. T. Lane.		
Years.	Inches.	Parts.	Year.	Inches.	Parts.
1795	26	576	1798	22	082
1796	21	401			

Rutlandſhire.		Hampſhire.				Weſtmoreland.
		Selbourn.		Fyfield.		Kendal.
Year.	Inches. Parts.	Inches.	Parts.	Inches.	Parts.	Inches.
1792	29 402	48	56	32	84	83¼

The

obſerved too, that the humidity of the Iriſh atmoſphere proves by no means injurious to the health of the inhabitants: on the contrary, it being generally accompanied by an increaſed agitation of the air, they enjoy better health, during the prevalence of the wet winds which blow from the Atlantic ocean, than at other times.

The climate of Ireland, confeſſedly as favourable to the production of barley and oats as that of England †, has generally been conſidered otherwiſe with regard to wheat. This, however, with the exception of ſome of the northern counties, the writer can by no means admit, having ſeen as fine wheat produced in gentlemen's demeſnes as could reaſonably be deſired.

The true immediate cauſes of the acknowledged general inferiority of the Iriſh to the Engliſh wheat, are, inattention, ſlovenlineſs, and want of ſkill on the part of the Iriſh farmers; and the remote cauſe appears to have been the granting an equal bounty on flour of all qualities, without diſtinction, brought to Dublin. This rendered the millers negligent, and conſequently the farmers. The lower and more numerous claſs of the latter are ſeldom ſcrupulous with regard to the choice of ſeed; they rarely clean it ſufficiently; they never weed their crops; they prepare their land very badly, and generally ſow too late. The conſequence of all this is, as might be expected, the inferiority alluded to, and which appears to be very great indeed.

The following Table is taken from the Statiſtical Survey of the County of * Londonderry.

	Days.					
Years.	Fair.	Showery.	Wet.	Snow.	Hail.	Froſt.
1795	131	198	36	33	18	60
1796	148	169	49	18	26	38
1797	114	216	35	13	28	32
1798	126	207	32	14	22	29
1799	128	198	29	25	22	53
1800	136	207	22	20	17	49
1801	124	217	24	25	31	25
Averages	129	201	34	21	23	40

* Londonderry, it will be obſerved, is one of the moſt northern counties of Ireland.

† As appeared by the evidence of Alderman Warren before the Committee on the Scarcity of Proviſions in 1800.

indeed. For, according to the evidence of Alderman Watſon, before the Britiſh Parliament in 1800, prime Engliſh wheat, weighing 33 ſtones the quarter, produces of army flour 26ſt. 10lb.; middle-priced, weighing 32 ſtones, produces 25ſt. 10lb.; and low-priced, weighing 31 ſtones four pounds, produces 24ſt. 6lb. the average of which is, as to produce of flour, 25ſt. 8lb. 10$\frac{4}{7}$oz. But according to the evidence of Mr. Jebb (proprietor of the Slaine mills), given before the Iriſh Parliament, the barrel of wheat, in Ireland, weighing 20 ſtones, produces no more than from 14$\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 ſtones of flour, or 14$\frac{3}{4}$ ſtones on an average, which is equal to no more than 23ſt. 8lb. 6$\frac{4}{7}$oz. the quarter of 32 ſtones. Indeed in the act 30 G. III. c. 30. the average produce of flour from the Iriſh barrel of 20 ſtones is taken at 13$\frac{1}{2}$ ſtones. Here is a ſtriking diſplay of inferiority on the part of the Iriſh wheat, in point of produce of flour.

Facts, however, are not wanting to prove, that, in caſes where due attention has been paid to ſeed and culture, the Iriſh wheat is at leaſt equal to that of England; and that the flour obtained from the generality of the former, in the event of care on the part of the miller, is not inferior to Engliſh flour. Wheat grown in the demeſne of Coolmore, in the ſouthern part of the county of Cork, in the year 1806, was found by the writer, under whoſe inſpection it was weighed and ground, to produce 17ſt. 6lb. of flour from the barrel of 20 ſtones; which is not much inferior to the produce of Dantzic wheat; the latter being, on an average, ſomething more than 18 ſtones. Wheat of a different ſort, grown in 1807, in the demeſne of Barnahely in the neighbourhood of Coolmore, was found to produce 17ſt. 2lbs. And Engliſh wheat, ſown in 1807, in the demeſne of Whitehall, ſituated in the ſouth-weſtern part of the ſame county, and about 30 miles from Coolmore, was found to produce grain ſuperior in quality to the ſeed; and the fact was acknowledged by an Engliſh gentleman who gave the latter. Some of the northern baronies of the county of Cork have always been reckoned ſuperior to the ſouthern ones in the quality of their wheat. And the lands near the bay of Scariff in the county of Clare, and in the barony of upper Ormond in that of Tipperary, which is a central county, are ſaid to be ſtill ſuperior to the former. The county of Kilkenny too, and others, are known to produce excellent wheat when the culture is properly attended to. The writer has ſeen flour manufactured at the mills of Slaine in the county of Meath,

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at the mills of Fermoy in the county of Cork, and at Rockmills in the ſame county, built by the intelligent and patriotic Mr. Aldworth of Newmarket, rather with a view to public than private advantage, and alſo at ſeveral private mills, which might ſafely be compared with the fineſt flour manufactured in Europe. Indeed it appeared by the evidence of Mr. Jebb, that Iriſh flour ſells as well as Engliſh in the Weſt Indies.

Minerals and *Foſſils*.—With regard to theſe, it is, as yet, far from being known how highly Ireland may rank among European nations. The ſucceſſive diſcoveries of the laſt century, and the reſults of the occaſional reſearches lately made, afford a ſufficient ground for a ſtrong perſuaſion, that, in addition to the mines and quarries actually open, many of extraordinary value may, by the application of ſuitable capitals and ſkill, be rendered eminently auxiliary to the augmentation of the wealth of Ireland, and raiſe it in point of ſubterranean riches to a very high degree of conſpicuity in Europe.

There is not a county in Ireland which does not contain ſome valuable mineral or foſſil; ſeveral of them, it is now aſcertained, abound with treaſures of this ſort; and theſe, for the greater part, are moſt happily ſituated for the exportation of their products, either in a rude or manufactured ſtate.

The following account, drawn from the ſtatiſtical ſurveys of 17 counties, the writings of Dr. Smith, the ſpecimens in the muſæum of the Dublin ſociety, the communication of Mr. Donald Stewart, itinerant mineralogiſt of that ſociety, and from the information of others, will ſerve, notwithſtanding its deficiency, to give a ſufficient view of the minerals and foſſils of Ireland.

ARMAGH contains lead, ochres of different colours, and various beautiful marbles.

ANTRIM contains coal and gypſum in abundance, beautiful cryſtals, pebbles, and different ſorts of ochres.

CARLOW contains granite, talk, marbles, cryſtals, and ochres.

CAVAN contains fine lead ore, iron, coal, ochres, clays, fuller's-earth, ſulphur, copper, ſilver, and jaſper.

CLARE contains lead, copper, iron, coal, and beautiful ſpars like thoſe of Derbyſhire.

CORK

CORK contains lead, iron, copper, coal, fine ſlate, extremely beautiful marbles of a great variety of colours, petrifactions, brown and yellow ochres, excellent potter's clay, and amethyſts of great beauty.

DONEGAL contains rich lead-ore, immenſe quantities of different ſorts of clays, coal, ſilicious ſand, manganeſe, iron, beautiful granite, chalcedony, marble reſembling that which is called ſtatuary marble, and garnites.

DOWN contains iron, fuller's-earth, ſoap-ſtone, rich lead, marbles of different ſorts, cryſtals, granite, copper, and very fine ſlate.

DUBLIN contains copper, lead, ochres of different colours, potter's clay, beautiful pebbles, cryſtals, and porphyry.

FERMANAGH contains rich iron-ore, and coal.

GALWAY contains rich lead, cryſtals, pearls, and marbles of ſuperior beauty.

KERRY contains abundance of rich copper, lead, beautiful marbles of various combinations of colours, cobalt, cryſtals, pearls, and amethyſts.

KILDARE contains marbles of different colours, which bear a higher poliſh than thoſe brought from Italy.

KILKENNY contains iron, coal, ochres, pipe and potter's clay, marbles, (ſome of them ſingular and beautiful,) granite, and jaſper.

KING'S COUNTY contains a ſilver mine near Edenderry; but not worked theſe 40 years.

LEITRIM contains inexhauſtible ſtores of iron and coal, copper, blue, green, yellow, pale red, and crimſon coloured clays, fuller's-earth, and garnites.

LIMERICK contains iron, copper, lead, coal, and fine ſlate.

LONDONDERRY contains iron, copper, lead, abundance of cryſtals, beautiful pebbles and petrifactions found near Lough Neagh, granite, and handſome marbles.

LONGFORD contains great variety of marbles, ochres, lead, fine ſlate, extremely rich iron-ore, and jaſper.

LOUTH contains ochres, and fuller's-earth.

MAYO contains abundance of iron-ore, ochres, granite, coal, ſlate of a ſuperior quality, beautiful black marble without ſpeck, and manganeſe.

MEATH contains ochres, and rich and abundant copper-ore;

MONAGHAN

MONAGHAN contains iron, lead, manganeſe, coal, marble, fuller's-earth and antimony.

QUEEN'S COUNTY contains iron, coal, copper, marble, ochres, fuller's-earth and potter's clay.

ROSCOMMON contains ochres, coal, iron, and marble exhibiting the petrified ſkeletons of different animals, and bearing a very high poliſh.

SLIGO contains iron, copper, lead, coal, fine clays, talk, ſilver, and, in abundance near the coaſt, a ſtone which bears a high poliſh, and is called ſerpent ſtone, from figures which it exhibits, reſembling the ſkeletons of theſe animals.

TIPPERARY contains rich and abundant copper and lead mines, coal, ſilver, plenty of fine ſlate, clays, and the moſt beautiful marbles.

TYRONE contains iron, and plenty of good potter's clay.

WATERFORD contains copper in abundance, iron, ochres, handſome pebbles, and, near the harbour, a moſt beautiful green and black marble.

WESTMEATH contains copper, lead, coal, and handſome yellow and dove-coloured marbles.

WEXFORD contains lead, copper, iron, marble, ochres, and a blue earth.

WICKLOW contains cryſtals, ſulphur, manganeſe, copper in abundance, granite *, lead, tin, and ſeveral other metallic ſubſtances, including gold.

By this account, incomplete as it is, Ireland appears to contain the following 30 different ſorts of minerals and foſſils: viz.

2 Amethyſts.	2 Garnites.	4 Pebbles.
1 Antimony.	7 Granite.	2 Petrifactions
15 Coal.	1 Gypſum.	1 Porphyry.
1 Cobalt.	19 Iron.	1 Silicious ſand.
17 Copper.	2 Jaſper.	3 Silver.
1 Chalcedony.	16 Lead.	6 Slate.
8 Cryſtals.	2 Manganeſe.	1 Soap ſtone.
9 Clays of various ſorts.	19 Marble.	1 Spars.
5 Fuller's-earth.	15 Ochres.	2 Sulphur.
1 Gold.	2 Pearls.	2 Talk.

* Decayed granite uſed in the manufacture of porcelaine.

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The figures prefixed to the different minerals and foſſils, denote the number of counties in which they have been diſcovered, according to the information obtained by the writer. That ſeveral of them are known by other perſons to exiſt in many more parts of Ireland than here ſtated, he has no doubt.

The amethyſts mentioned in this account, and which have been found in abundance near Kerryhead, and in the neighbourhood of the city of Cork *, are, many of them, very large; and in luſtre and hue little inferior to any others. The pearls are found in Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway; and in the lake of Killarney in that of Kerry. An Iriſh pearl, weighing 36 carats and valued at 40l., is mentioned by Sir Robert Redding in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. In the county of Donegal there was found one piece of chalcedony which weighed ſeven pounds and a half. The cryſtals found in the county of Londonderry weigh from one to 12 ounces. The pebbles found near Dungiven, in the ſame county, are extremely beautiful, great numbers of them are actually on ſale in Dublin, and in much requeſt. The Lough Neagh, pebbles differing from the former, are alſo much ſought after. The petrifactions found in that lake, and near a ſmall ſpring in the neighbourhood of Doneraile, in the county of Cork, frequently exhibit a pleaſing aſſemblage of colours, and bear the engraving tool as well as cornelians. The marbles found in the counties of Cork, Galway, Mayo, Kilkenny, Kildare, Tipperary, Kerry, Longford, Weſtmeath, and Waterford, are in general, as before noticed, uncommonly beautiful; many of them exhibit the moſt elegant diverſity of colours; and ſome of them, in poliſh, ſurpaſs the fineſt Italian marbles. Thoſe of the county of Kildare, but particularly the marble found at Ballyannon, part of the eſtate of the writer's much eſteemed friend, Mr. Hyde, in the county of Cork, fully confirm the aſſertion. Gypſum, ſo valuable a material in the hands of the ornamental artiſt, and perhaps much more ſo as a manure, is found in great abundance in the county of Antrim. Beautiful cryſtals abound in many places. The ſilicious ſand, employed in the glaſs manufactures, is found in great plenty in the Muckiſh moun-

* The rich amethyſt quarry near Cork, owing to what cauſe the writer has not been ſatisfactorily informed, was ſtopped up ſeveral years ago, when producing theſe ſtones in abundance; and has not ſince been opened. It has been ſaid that a cheſt of amethyſts, belonging to the proprietor of the quarry, actually lies in one of the Dublin banks.

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tains, in the county of Donegal, within four miles of Sheephaven, from whence it is exported. The flint ſtones, uſed in the Staffordſhire potteries, according to the evidence of Mr. Wedgewood in 1785, are brought from Ireland: as is alſo, according to the evidence of Mr. Hurſt, the kelp which is uſed as a principal ingredient in the Engliſh crown glaſs manufacture. The greater part of the coaſt from Sligo to Galway, a line of 150 miles, abounds with it. Its increaſed export may be ſeen in the Table No. 9. in the Appendix. The ſlates, mentioned in the foregoing account, are moſtly equal to the fineſt imported from Wales. Thoſe in the county of Mayo appear to be more approved of; as there has lately been a conſiderable demand for them from England: to which country the ochres and manganeſe of Mayo have alſo been exported.

The gold mine at Croghan, in the county of Wicklow, began to attract attention about the year 1795. According to a calculation made on the ſubject, the ſum of 10,000l. was paid, at the rate of 3l. 15s. per ounce, to the country people, for the gold which they collected. Before government took poſſeſſion of the mine, there was found one piece of gold which weighed 22 ounces, and which is believed to be the largeſt ever found in Europe. From the commencement of the works to June 1801, there were found 599 ounces of gold. That gold, ſufficient to repay the expenſe of the works, will be hereafter found, is what very few people are ſo ſanguine as to expect. But it ſeems extremely probable, that, in the purſuit of this metal, ſeveral rich veins of other metals will be diſcloſed; as there are ſufficient indications of them in moſt parts of the neighbourhood.

The copper mines at Cronebane and Ballymurtagh, in the ſame county, are ſaid to be actually very productive. The copper mine at Skerries, in the county of Dublin, is alſo well ſpoken of. The copper and lead mines at Lackamore and Doonally, in the county of Tipperary, are extremely rich; as is the lead mine on the eſtate of Lord Leitrim in the county of Donegal; and ſeveral others of the ſame kind. A very rich vein of copper ore has been diſcovered in the county of Meath, cloſe to the river Boyne, and extending a mile. The valuable copper mine at Killarney, in the county of Kerry, which not along ago was almoſt deſpaired of, has become, eſpecially ſince the erection of a ſteam engine, very productive. The vein is from 18 inches to three feet thick. It

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yields, as the writer has been informed, between 50 and 60 tons of copper ore per week; and gives employment to 150 miners. The increaſed demand for labour, occaſioned by this mine and its attendant works, has raiſed the price nearly one ſhilling per day, in the neighbourhood of Killarney, above the average price in the other parts of the country; it being 1s. 7½d. in the former, and 7¼d. in the latter. This mine was formerly worked by a Briſtol company, and then produced about 600 tons annually.

The following ſtatement will ſhew the increaſed exportation of the ſurpluſes of lead and copper ore:

	Lead Ore. Tons.	Copper Ore. Tons.
Three years, ending 25th March 1783	6	151
Three years, - - - - 1793	401	2,344
Three years, ending 5th July 1808	929	6,869*

Iron, which, if conſidered with reference to the effects of human labour and art, will appear not leſs valuable, and certainly is more uſeful than any other metal, is found, according to the foregoing account, in 19 counties out of 32; and probably exiſts in more. But a total want of timber †, and a defective ſupply of coal in the neighbourhoods of moſt of the places where the iron-ſtone and ore abound, render them actually of no avail. It is otherwiſe, however, with ſome places.

At Arigna, for inſtance, in the county of Leitrim, and province of Connaught, both iron-ſtone and coal are found in the greateſt profuſion.

Mr. Lawſon, an Engliſh miner, ſtated in evidence before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, that the iron-ſtone at Arigna lay in beds of from three to twelve fathoms deep; and that it could be raiſed for two ſhillings and ſixpence the ton, which is five ſhillings cheaper than in Cumberland; that the coal, in the neighbourhood, was better than any in England, and could be raiſed for three ſhillings and ſixpence the ton; and that it extended

* Smaller quantities than one ton have been omitted.

† There is actually more timber cut down in Montgomeryſhire, in Wales, than in all the counties of Ireland put together. In the year 1805, the writer obſerved ſeveral advertiſements in the Salopian Journal, announcing the ſale of 7,100 oaks, beſides a much greater number of other trees, in different places in Montgomeryſhire and Shropſhire, but chiefly the former.

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fix miles in length and five in breadth. He alſo ſtated that fire-brick clay, and free-ſtone of the beſt qualities, were in the neighbourhood; and that a bed of potter's-clay extended there two miles in length, and one in breadth. Mr. Clarke, on the ſame occaſion, declared that the iron-ore was inexhauſtible. And our diſtinguiſhed countryman, Mr. Kirwan, whoſe opinions on mineralogical ſubjects few will attempt to refute, affirmed that the Arigna iron was better than any iron made from any ſpecies of ſingle ore in England. And here it may be proper to obſerve, that the ſituation of Arigna is perhaps the fineſt in the world for the eſtabliſhment of the different manufactures of iron. It lies near the ſource of the noble river Shannon, navigable for the ſpace of 170 miles; and which, with the aid of its principal tributary navigable rivers, the Inny, the Broſna, the Camlin, the Suck and others, with the aid alſo of the grand canal, already conducted to it, and that of the royal canal which approaches it, might convey the productions of the forge and workſhop into almoſt all the interior parts of Ireland, and to ſeveral of its ports. It lies alſo in the neighbourhood of the river Bonnet, by which boats paſs into Lough Gilly, and thence to the harbour of Sligo; from whence the manufactures of Arigna could, in a very ſhort time, be tranſported to the numerous harbours on the north-weſt and north coaſts; to Belfaſt on the north-eaſt, and thence, by the Lagan, into Lough Neagh, ſituated in the midſt of four counties. In ſhort, it is impoſſible that any place can be more happily circumſtanced than Arigna, in reſpect of tranſmitting the moſt cumberſome manufactures to home and foreign markets. And here it ſeems alſo proper to obſerve, that the counties which abound moſt in valuable minerals, are ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, and enjoy, in moſt caſes, the advantage of ſeveral excellent harbours. Kerry, Donegal, and Mayo, are particularly fortunate in this reſpect.

Fiſheries.—Among the different natural advantages which may be employed in augmenting the wealth of a nation, a very diſtinguiſhed place is certainly due to the fiſheries in the neighbourhood of its coaſt, or in the mouths of its harbours and rivers: and, with reference to the important article of ſubſiſtence, its interior fiſheries are equally worthy of notice.

In reſpect of theſe, as well as other advantages, the bounty of the Almighty to Ireland has been ſurpriſingly great indeed. "The fiſhery of Ireland," ſays Sir William Temple, "might prove a mine under water,

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as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to thoſe vaſt advantages it is capable of*." Mr. Young truly remarks, "that there is ſcarcely a part of Ireland but what is well ſituated for ſome fiſhery of conſequence; and that her coaſts and innumerable creeks and rivers' mouths are the reſort of vaſt ſhoals of herrings, cod, ling, hake, mackarel, &c. which might with proper attention be converted into funds of wealth†." Mr. Daniel, in his Rural Sports, ſays, "the waters of Ireland abound in all that can invite an angler to their banks; perhaps they are better ſtored, and the fiſh contained in them of a ſize ſuperior to thoſe found elſewhere in the United Kingdom‡."

In the year 1778, there were 383 veſſels on the bounty. They caught 72,992 half barrels of herrings, 110,058 hake, 13,680 ling, and 33,538 cod. In 1779, there were 410 veſſels employed; and 156,757 half barrels of herrings, 274,183 hake, 53,095 ling, and 80,085 cod, were taken§. In the year 1780, 130 bounty veſſels were at the fiſhery in Lough Swilly. They expended, in the cure of fiſh, 1,708 tons of ſalt, which cured in bulk (allowing 30 maize or 15,000 herrings to one ton of ſalt) 51,240 maize. In the year 1781, the bounty veſſels in the ſame Lough were 147; ſalt expended 1,914 tons; maize or barrels cured 57,420. In the ſame year 117 veſſels from Liverpool and the Iſle of Man purchaſed for their red-herring houſes 49,950 maize of herrings, and paid 12,487l. 10s.‖

From the 14th of December 1782, to the 14th of February 1783, there were caught near the Roſſes, off the coaſt of Donegal, 23,634,000 herrings, which were ſold on the ſpot at five ſhillings per thouſand¶. Mr. Brice, in his report to the Committee on the Iriſh Fiſheries, declared that as many herrings might have been caught off the Roſſes in 1782 as would have loaded all the ſhips in England. He alſo ſtated that four men with lines caught 20 dozen of cod and hake in two hours. In the year 1783, there were employed in Lough Swilly 1,000 boats with four oars and a ſkipper each. The red-herring fiſhers paid, in one year, 47,000l.††

In 1784, the herrings came upon the north-weſt coaſt about the laſt week in June, and continued until about the laſt week in September.

* Miſcellaneous Works, vol. iii. p. 26.
† Tour, vol. ii. p. 2. 186.
‡ Vol. ii. p. 144.
§ Returns to Parliament.
‖ Lord Sheffield's Obſervations on the Trade, &c. of Ireland, pp. 118, 119.
¶ Commons' Journals. †† Ibid.

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There was, for a conſiderable part of that time, no other demand than from the country, and the take was ſo very great, and the demand ſo ſmall, that incredible numbers were thrown away; and, upon an average price for a month, they did not exceed 10d. per thouſand. They were boiled for oil, the price of which was 10d. per gallon, and was very good for lamps*.

In that year, there were 514 veſſels engaged in the Iriſh fiſhery, giving employment to 3,723 men and boys†; which, by the way, was 457 more than all the fiſhermen and boatmen of Ireland in the year 1695, according to the accurate account of Captain South, then one of the commiſſioners of the Revenue.

On the night of the 12th of January 1785, the fiſhery off the Roſſes was ſo great that 450 boats were loaded before the morning‡.

Since that year, the herring fiſhery of Ireland has greatly declined. Theſe fiſh, however, ſtill frequent its numerous harbours and rivers' mouths, in ſufficient abundance to ſupply the demands of the people in the adjacent diſtricts; and to furniſh a ſmall ſupply for foreign markets: and their return in their former ſhoals may be rationally expected. In fact they re-appeared and were taken, in great abundance, laſt winter off the Weſtern coaſt. The ſprats ſtill arrive in prodigious ſhoals. The writer has ſeen immenſe quantities of oil obtained from them at Kinſale; and their remains employed in manuring land.

As for the cod, ling, and hake, they are in as great abundance as ever. The report of Captain Fraſer in 1801, reſpecting the fiſhery on the Nymph Bank, off the South-eaſtern coaſt, repreſents it in an extremely favourable light. He conſiders it as ſuperior to the fiſhery on the Dogger Bank §.

Plaiſe, ſole, haddock, and turbot, abound on many parts of the coaſt. In ſome of the ſmall towns on the weſt and ſouth-weſt coaſts, the laſt may frequently be purchaſed for two and three ſhillings a piece. In the city of Cork, where the Roman Catholics are to the Proteſtants as upwards of three to one‖, ſeated moreover in a very populous diſtrict chiefly inhabited by the former, whoſe faſts induce a greater demand for fiſh than

* Lord Sheffield's Obſervations, p. 120. † Commons' Journals. ‡ Ibid.
§ Tranſ. Dub. Soc. vol. ii. p. 469. ‖ See Appendix, No. XVIII. XIX.

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is the caſe in Proteſtant countries, the ordinary price of a good cod-fiſh, which would ſell for at leaſt ſixpence per pound, or from 10s. to 12s. in England, is only two ſhillings; and the prices of all other fiſh are proportionately low.

The ſalmon fiſheries of Ireland are, in proportion, infinitely more numerous and productive than thoſe of any other country the natural hiſtory whereof has fallen into the writer's hands. In various parts of Ireland, remote from each other, he has ſeen from 10 to 30 fine ſalmon taken at one drag. Mr. Daniel ſtates that 1,452 ſalmon were taken at one drag in the river Bann in the year 1780; and 882, in like manner, in the year 1788: that the ſalmon fiſhery there lets for 6,000l., and the eel fiſhery for 1,000l. a year.

The rivers Shannon, Suir, Blackwater, Boyne, Liffey, Lee, Earne, Eſky, Moy, Lackah, Lane, Carra, Feale, the Newport river, that which flows from Lough Corrib into the ſea, and ſeveral others abound with ſalmon, in general of a ſuperior quality. The counties of Meath and Louth, of Antrim and Londonderry, of Limerick, Sligo, Tipperary and Waterford, vie with each other in the quality of their ſalmon. Thoſe taken in the river Lee, which flows through Cork, are equally good at all ſeaſons. The ſalmon fiſhery on the Blackwater lets for 600l. a year; and the different expenſes attendant thereon amount to about 500l. more: that of the Boyne lets for 520l. a year: that of the Earne, as Mr. Daniel was informed, for 2,000l.; but as appears in the ſtatiſtical ſurvey of the county of Donegal, for 1,083l. The eel fiſhery there lets for 325l., and the ſalmon fiſheries in the Newport and Burriſhole rivers, and at Killery, let together for 210l.

The general price of the ſalmon at the Bann is 4d. per pound; at Ballyſhannon in the Earne leſs; and during the laſt Lent, the Roman Catholic miners, employed at the copper mine near Killarney, paid but 2d. per pound, and were amply ſupplied. About 20 years ago, as the writer remembers, it was ſold at the weir in the Awinbuy or Carrigoline river, near which he reſided, and which is within ſeven miles of the populous city of Cork, for the ſame price *.

Beſides

* The writer recollects that, when quartered in the county of Mayo, in the year 1779, the troops ſtationed at Balinrobe ſupplied themſelves amply throughout the ſeaſon with

Beſides ſalmon, the rivers and lakes of Ireland contain a vaſt abundance of various other ſorts of fiſh. The Shannon affords a profuſion; immenſe pike, bream, and the gillaroo trout, which is found alſo in much greater abundance in Lough Corrib and Lough Maſk. Charr is found in Lough Eaſk and other lakes; and plenty of lamperies in the Bann. Mr. Young, ſpeaking of the prodigious quantity of fiſh in the lakes of the county of Weſtmeath, tells us, "that a child, with a crooked pin and packthread, will catch perch enough in an hour for the family to live upon the whole day *." Beſides perch, there are bream, tench, trouts weighing 10lb., large pike, and fine eels in theſe lakes.

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with ſalmon, taken in an ill-conſtructed weir which they formed in the river Robe, contiguous to their barrack. Salmon was then frequently ſold in Sligo and Caſtlebar for one penny per pound.

* Vol. i. p. 67.

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SECTION IV.

Land—Recapitulation.

Land. THE ſubject of this ſection appears to have a juſt claim to a more ample conſideration than any of thoſe of the foregoing ones. The value of ſome of the more important of thoſe, ſuch, for inſtance, as harbours and rivers, does evidently, in a very great degree, depend, in moſt caſes, on the nature of this; while its value, though no doubt greatly enhanced by the number, ſafety, and extent of theſe, is by no means abſolutely dependent thereon. Safe and capacious harbours, and extenſive navigable rivers, in a bleak, rugged, and barren country, avail but little, comparatively ſpeaking, in the accumulation of national wealth. But as food will always purchaſe as much labour as it can maintain on the ſpot, and as labour is the true ſource of wealth, ſo a fertile country of moderate extent, though inconveniently circumſtanced for trafficking with other countries, and even labouring, at firſt, under conſiderable diſadvantages with regard to the internal tranſportation of its commodities, may yet attain a high degree of opulence. China is ſurpriſingly populous and exceedingly rich; yet its trade with foreign nations is extremely trivial for ſuch a vaſt country, and might, without any ſenſible injury, be wholly diſpenſed with. Its internal communications are, indeed, numerous in the extreme. It extends through many parallels of latitude, and produces a great diverſity of commodities. But the canals and roads for which it is ſo celebrated, and which muſt neceſſarily have conduced in an eminent degree to the augmentation of its wealth, were probably rather the effect than the cauſe of that extenſive and ſedulous purſuit of agriculture, which, with the example of their Emperor before them, has ever diſtinguiſhed the people of China; or, perhaps, as ſeems moſt likely, they were in part the cauſe and in part the effect thereof.

By various combinations of circumſtances, people may be induced or impelled to ſettle in a ſterile country, advantageouſly ſituated for foreign trade; and, by a ſucceſsful exerciſe of their induſtry, may there accumulate wealth,

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wealth, and gradually employ its occaſional redundancies, in rendering productive a conſiderable tract of land in the vicinity of their ſettlement. Such, to a certain degree, was the caſe of Genoa. But the quantity of productive land, thus obtained, being inadequate to the maintenance of an increaſing number of conſumers, they muſt neceſſarily depend on other countries for a full ſupply of food; and part with their acquired riches in proportion as that ſupply comes dear to their market. The accumulation, therefore, of wealth, in a country thus circumſtanced, muſt needs be much more tardy than in a country favourably ſituated for foreign commerce, and poſſeſſing a ſoil ſufficiently fertile to furniſh, with ordinary labour, the requiſite ſupply of food to its inhabitants.

The moſt natural progreſs of a people, in purſuit of wealth, is, when the firſt ſtage of that progreſs is agriculture; the ſecond home manufactures; and the third foreign commerce; and ſuch progreſs, as experience proves, is infinitely more rapid and more ſecure than when foreign commerce and manufactures are the primary concerns of an induſtrious people, and agriculture is regarded as an inferior expedient for the acquiſition of wealth, and reſorted to merely through neceſſity.

That admirable writer, Dr. Adam Smith, appears to have been duly impreſſed with the ſuperior value of land, conſidered as a ſource of wealth. His obſervations thereon, as on moſt other ſubjects connected with the wealth of nations, are juſt, luminous, and comprehenſive. "The land," ſays he, "conſtitutes by far the greateſt, the moſt important and the moſt durable part of the wealth of every extenſive country *." "Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, agriculture is by far the moſt advantageous to ſociety †." "When the capital of a country is not ſufficient for agriculture, manufactures, and foreign commerce, at once; in proportion as a greater ſhare of it is employed in the firſt, the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts in motion within the country; as will likewiſe be the value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land, and labour of the ſociety ‡." "The capital that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is a very precarious and uncertain poſſeſſion, till ſome part of it has been ſecured and realized in the cultivation and improvement of its lands. A merchant, it

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 248. Dub. Ed. † Id. p. 362. ‡ Id. p. 364.

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has been ſaid very properly, is not neceſſarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great meaſure indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling diſguſt will make him remove his capital, and together with it all the induſtry which it ſupports, from one country to another. No part of it can be ſaid to belong to any particular country, till it has been ſpread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings, or in the laſting improvement of lands. No veſtige now remains of the great wealth ſaid to have been poſſeſſed by the greater part of the Hanſe Towns, except in the obſcure hiſtories of the 13th and 14th centuries. It is even uncertain where ſome of them were ſituated, or to what towns in Europe the Latin names given to ſome of them belong. But though the misfortunes of Italy, in the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, greatly diminiſhed the commerce and manufactures of the cities of Lombardy and Tuſcany, thoſe countries ſtill continue to be among the moſt populous and beſt cultivated in Europe. The civil wars in Flanders, and the Spaniſh government which ſucceeded them, chaſed away the great commerce of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges: but Flanders ſtill continues to be one of the richeſt, beſt cultivated, and moſt populous provinces of Europe. The ordinary revolutions of war and government eaſily dry up the ſources of that wealth which ariſes from commerce only. That which ariſes from the more ſolid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be deſtroyed but by thoſe more violent convulſions occaſioned by the depredations of hoſtile and barbarous nations, continued for a century or two together; ſuch as thoſe that happened for ſome time before and after the fall of the Roman Empire in the weſtern provinces of Europe.* "

Men, like other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of ſubſiſtence. Accordingly, in fertile countries, where the bounty of nature has not been counteracted by the political reſtraints or outrages of man, but rather ſeconded by wholeſome and prudent inſtitutions and regulations, the moſt denſe populations are uniformly found. As men become crowded together, their natural and fictitious wants are multiplied; human ingenuity is ſharpened; the various reſources of the country are explored; communications are opened between its diſtant parts; an extenſive market

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 418.

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for the varied produce of induſtry is gradually formed; labour is more ſubdivided; and, in proportion as the ſurplus produce reſulting from ſuch ſubdiviſion is increaſed, ſo muſt the general wealth of the ſociety.

If theſe remarks be well-founded, the value of fertile land, or that which is capable of being rendered ſo, with adequate profit to the undertaker, may juſtly be conſidered as ſuperior to that of any other phyſical advantage which a country can enjoy, and perhaps equal to the united value of all others. It is to be obſerved, however, that without the means of exporting the redundant produce of the land, and without thoſe of conveying it expeditiouſly and cheaply to diſtant parts of the country in which it is produced, the increaſe of national wealth, by the purſuit of agriculture, muſt neceſſarily be limited; and an extenſive country may, at one and the ſame time, enjoy a ſuperabundance of food, and ſuffer under a ſcarcity thereof; one diſtrict, favoured by the nature of the ſeaſon, producing more than the conſumption of its inhabitants requires, and another, injured thereby, producing much leſs.

A facility of diſpoſing of a redundancy to advantage naturally induces the cultivators of the land to extend their operations, and to turn their thoughts to expedients likely to render theſe operations ſtill more productive. On the contrary, an impoſſibility of conveying that redundancy to a diſtant market, with a proſpect of reaſonable profit, naturally prompts them to ſuit their ſupply to the home demand. But as this demand can ſcarcely increaſe in the ſame ratio as the productions of the land may be made to increaſe, ſo, in the way of augmenting national wealth, by additional gain to the farmer, additional hire to the labourer, additional rent to the landlord, and additional profit to the various claſſes of induſtrious people neceſſarily employed by theſe, a great portion of the valuable effects of human exertions muſt be precluded.

An acre of land, it is well known, may, by ſuperior management, be rendered capable of producing three times its ordinary produce of wheat; and conſequently, the demand for that article continuing unabated, may be rendered three times more valuable to the tenant and the landlord. The ſubſtitution of maize for wheat, provided the demand be equal and continuous, renders the land ſtill more valuable *; and the ſubſtitution of pota-

* The produce of maize to wheat in France is as 38 to 26.

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toes, in ſuch event, ſtill more ſo *. A much greater number of perſons may be ſubſiſted by a given portion of land, under potatoes, than under any ſort of corn; conſequently a greater command of labour is obtained by the former than by the latter: in other words, a greater increaſe of wealth is eventually effected. And as, by an improved method of cultivating that valuable root, an acre may be made to yield three times as much as its ordinary produce, ſo the land may be rendered capable of ſuſtaining three times as many people, ſubſiſting on potatoes; and of courſe be rendered three times as valuable. The number of people who might be ſupported by the potatoes, produced by a comparatively ſmall number of acres, if the culture thereof were carried to its utmoſt perfection, is aſtoniſhingly great: 100,000 acres, Engliſh meaſure, would produce more than ſufficient for 1,000,000 people †. But it ſeems perfectly unneceſſary to ſpeak more in detail on this ſubject; it being very generally admitted, that the increaſe of food, though in ſome rich countries it actually falls ſhort of, may yet be made to ſurpaſs, the greateſt probable increaſe of people.

A facility, then, of diſpoſing of ſuch poſſible ſurplus of food, is obviouſly an advantage of by no means ſecondary importance, with reference to an active and profitable purſuit of huſbandry, and an ample and uniform ſupply to home conſumers. But when it is conſidered that that ſurplus produce, as thoſe of the forge and loom, ſerve to purchaſe ſuch raw materials as the country may be phyſically incapable of producing; and alſo ſuch foreign fabricks as may excite a ſpirit of manufacturing emulation, and direct the induſtry of a people into new channels, to the great augmentation of

* The produce of potatoes to wheat is as 10 to 1, or rather after making a fair deduction for the watery nature of the former, as about 6 to 1, in point of nutriment. A ſtone of potatoes will loſe about one-twelfth by boiling. In the neighbourhood of Cork ten guineas are paid for an Engliſh acre of land to plant potatoes in; and thoſe who pay it make conſiderable profit. For the ſame purpoſe two ſhillings are paid for a ſquare perch, Iriſh meaſure, contiguous to the circular road near Dublin; which is at the rate of 16l. per Iriſh acre, or 9l. 17s. $6\frac{1}{20}$d. per Engliſh acre.

† The average produce of potatoes throughout Ireland is about 50 barrels from the Engliſh acre. By Mr. Rawſon's mode of culture, however, 196 barrels of the potatoe, called the red-noſed kidney, have been obtained from the Iriſh acre, which is equal to 121 from the Engliſh acre. (Statiſtical Survey of the County of Kildare.) The writer has known $19\frac{1}{2}$ tons, or 156 barrels of rather an inferior ſort of potatoe, called Meldrum, obtained from one acre, Engliſh meaſure.

national

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national wealth, a facility of diſpoſing of it will appear to be an advantage of primary conſequence. The indigo and cotton of the weſtern world, and the porcelain and muſlins of the eaſtern, have, in different ways, greatly conduced to the increaſe of Britiſh wealth; and one-half of the valuable and neceſſary imports of Ireland are returns for the ſurplus food ſhe exports.

It has already been ſufficiently ſhewn, in the foregoing ſections, that Ireland poſſeſſes, in an eminent degree, the different natural advantages which are requiſite to the external and internal vent of thoſe various ſuperfluities which ſucceſſively reſult from the increaſing induſtry of man. In this ſection, it is propoſed to ſhew, that the land of Ireland is not only competent to ſuſtain an increaſing number of thoſe by whoſe ſubdivided labour ſuch ſuperfluities are produced; but alſo to add greatly to the general maſs or aggregate of exportable commodities, and to give immediate and eventual employment to millions *.

Sir William Petty in his Political Anatomy, publiſhed in the year 1672, computed that Ireland contained 10,500,000 acres, Iriſh plantation meaſure; which, according to the proportion of 121 to 196, the Iriſh perch being 21 and the Engliſh 16½ feet, are equal to 17,008,264 acres English meaſure. Theſe he divided as follows:

	Iriſh.		Engliſh.
Lakes, rivers, rocks, highways, impaſſable bogs and ſhrubs - - -	1,500,000	or	2,429,752
Very coarſe land, commonly called unprofitable,	1,500,000	—	2,429,752
Good meadow, arable and paſture - -	7,500,000	—	12,148,760

Dr. Beaufort, in his memoir of a map of Ireland, ſtates its contents at 12,001,200 Iriſh plantation acres, which are equal to 19,439,960 Engliſh. Other modes of computing the contents of Ireland, ſuch as that employed by Dr. Grewe, in the caſe of England, would ſwell their amount far beyond Dr. Beaufort's numbers. I ſhall, however, proceed upon the

* "La culture des terres (ſays Monteſquieu) devient pour les hommes, une immenſe manufacture." *L'Eſprit des Loix*, tom. iii. c. 14. "The moſt numerous claſs of artificers (ſays Adam Smith) will ſeldom, in a large country, make more than one in fifty, or one in a hundred of the whole number of families contained in it; but in ſuch large countries as France and England, the number of people employed in agriculture, has by ſome authors been computed at a half, by others at a third, and by no author that I know of, at leſs than a fifth of the whole inhabitants of a country." *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 198.

number

number of acres ſtated by him; which, though probably ſhort of the truth, many local ſurveys have proved to be much nearer to it than that of Sir William Petty.

Of the foregoing number of acres, viz. 19,439,960,

	Acres.
The three great lakes, Lough Neagh, Lough Corrib, and Lough Earne compriſe - - - - - -	268,585
The other lakes may contain about - - - -	150,000
The river Shannon, about - - - - - -	76,800
The other rivers, which are numerous in Ireland, about	192,000
35,000 miles of road of all ſorts, public and private, at 20 feet wide, on an average - - - - - -	83,200
Towns, ſites of houſes, yards, pleaſure-gardens, &c. &c.	96,000
The ten richeſt counties may contain of utterly irreclaimable land - - - - - - - - -	32,000
The ten next, in point of fertility - - - -	96,000
The twelve pooreſt, at 25 ſquare miles on an average each	192,000
Total number of acres, inapplicable to the ſuſtenance of man	1,185,585

	Acres.
Of land unreclaimed, and in a comparatively unproductive ſtate, there may be in the counties of Galway and Mayo, containing 2,884,196 acres, about 1,700 ſquare miles, or - - - - - - - -	1,088,000
In thoſe of Donegal and Kerry, containing 2,140,843 acres, about 1,600 ſquare miles, or - - - - -	*1,024,000
In thoſe of Clare, Leitrim, and Sligo, containing 1,586,304 acres, 1,200 ſquare miles, or - - - - -	768,000
In thoſe of Cork, Wicklow, and Waterford, containing 2,629,315 acres, about 900 ſquare miles, or -	576,000
Carried over,	3,456,000

* In the Statiſtical Survey of the County of Donegal, it is ſtated, that, according to the ſurvey of Mr. Hanlon, the waſte land of that county compriſes 721,200 acres. There being, however, only 679,550 Iriſh acres in the whole county, according to Dr. Beaufort, who was furniſhed with a modern ſurvey of it, I preſume that the printer fell into ſome error with regard to the figures, in the former work.

Brought

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	Acres.
Brought forward,	3,456,000
In thoſe of Londonderry, Cavan, Tyrone, Roſcommon, and Down, containing 2,880,714 acres, about 900 ſquare miles, or	576,000
In thoſe of Fermanagh, Antrim, Armagh, King's, and Queen's Counties, containing 2,218,525 acres, about 600 ſquare miles, or	384,000
And in the remaining 12 counties there may be about 600 ſquare miles, or	384,000
Making altogether of unreclaimed, and comparatively unproductive land	4,800,000
Which, being added to that portion of the area of Ireland which is inapplicable to the ſuſtenance of man, makes a total of	5,985,585
Leaving of fertile land	13,454,375

Or 494,403 acres above two-thirds of the whole; or 1,305,615 acres more of fertile land than computed by Sir William Petty. And there is abundant reaſon for believing that that number, at leaſt, has been added to the good arable, meadow and paſture of Ireland ſince 1672. Indeed if we advert to the vaſt and well authenticated increaſe of people in the courſe of the laſt century *, and to the great augmentation of the quantity of proviſions of all ſorts exported, which may be ſeen in the tables No. IV., and No. VI., in the Appendix, we ſhall feel perſuaded that Sir William Petty exaggerated on the ſubject of the productive land.

It is true that the more numerous claſſes, in the Iriſh community, ſubſiſt chiefly on that ſpecies of food which requires for its production a much leſs quantity of land than any other ſpecies of food made uſe of in Europe. Still, however, the maintenance and exigencies of a population, which appears to exceed five millions †, ſeem to demand rather a greater than a ſmaller number of acres of productive land than that before ſtated; eſpecially as a conſiderable deduction muſt be made therefrom on account of the land employed in furniſhing the proviſions exported; and a due allow-

* See No. XVI. XVII. in the Appendix.

† See Inquiry into the Progreſs and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland.

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ance made for the comparatively ſcanty produce of the remainder, in conſequence of the extremely defective huſbandry which diſtinguiſhes the cultivators of the Iriſh ſoil.

The actual proportion of fertile to waſte land in Ireland, if the foregoing diſtribution approximate the truth, is nearly the ſame as in England in 1696, according to Mr. Gregory King; who computed that the heaths, moors, mountains, and barren land of England and Wales compriſed 10,000,000 acres; the rivers, lakes, meres, and ponds, 500,000; the roads, ways, and waſte land, 500,000; the gardens, orchards, churchyards, churches, and houſes, 1,000,000; the foreſts, parks, and commons, 3,000,000; the woods and coppices, 3,000,000; and the arable and paſture 21,000,000; in all 39,000,000.

But this proportion, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Arthur Young, who however, ſeldom errs, is very much inferior to the preſent proportion of fertile to waſte land in England. For, according to the ſtatement of the Committee of Agriculture, which it may be preſumed was made after diligent and accurate inquiry, the cultivated land of England and Wales compriſes 39,027,156 acres, and the uncultivated land only 7,888,777 acres, making together 46,915,933; which, it may be obſerved by the way, is 7,915,933 acres more than computed by Mr. King. Since the year 1778, when Mr. Young gave it as his opinion, that there was more waſte land in proportion in England than in Ireland, agriculture has, no doubt, been greatly extended in the former. From the acceſſion of His preſent Majeſty to the year 1800, no fewer than 2,804,197 acres appear to have been incloſed. But facts are not wanting to prove that agriculture has been extended in Ireland ſince that year, in an unprecedented manner *, apparently much more ſo than in England. Admitting, therefore, that the ſtatement of the Committee was correct, either the opinion of Mr. Young muſt be conſidered as haſty †, or the cultivated land of Ireland muſt actually bear an infinitely greater proportion to its uncultivated land than the writer has computed. But that the truth has not been much exceeded, in the caſe of the uncultivated land, will readily be vouched by thoſe who

* Compare Tables marked IV., VI., in the Appendix.

† His account of the proportion of waſte land, in ſeveral of the counties, is confeſſedly grounded on the mere accidental opinion of others.

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have ſurveyed the counties of Donegal, Mayo, Kerry, and Galway, with much more accuracy than Mr. Young could have done; and might be ſhewn, if neceſſary, by the citation of paſſages from the ſtatiſtical accounts of the more improved counties.

That Ireland ſurpaſſes France, in the proportion of her cultivated land, is ſufficiently confirmed by the concurrent ſtatements of Mr. Young and others, who have made the ſoil of the latter a ſubject of their reſearches. Mr. Young's diſtribution of the land of France is as follows: viz.

	Acres.
Arable and Lucerne - -	75,000,000
Meadows - - - -	4,000,000
Vines - - - -	5,000,000
Total of cultivated land - -	84,000,000
Woods - - - -	19,850,000
Waſtes - - - -	27,150,000
Total of uncultivated land - -	47,000,000 acres, or upwards of one-third of the whole.

But computations of this ſort, induced by the want of actual ſurveys diſcriminating accurately between the waſte and fertile land of a country, and the computations of Sir William Petty and Mr. King are expreſsly included in the remark, are by no means to be implicitly relied on; being, in general, grounded on mere perſonal obſervations, which are extremely fallacious; or on local deſcriptions and reports, which are often vague and incorrect; or on the conſumption of the products of the earth, which, even in the rare event of the population being exactly aſcertained, cannot be accurately diſcovered. As to the foregoing diſtribution of the land of Ireland, the reader has already been apprized of its diſclaiming a pretenſion to ſtrict accuracy. The pains however which have been taken to arrive at truth, and the information derived from various quarters, have been ſuch as to enable the writer to ſay thus much, at leaſt, that it approaches ſufficiently near the truth to fortify all reaſonings relative to the land of Ireland.

Between the unreclaimed land of Ireland, conſiſting of mountains and bogs, and that of almoſt all other countries, there are three eſſential points

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of difference deſerving particular attention. A vaſt proportion of the unreclaimed land of other countries is almoſt utterly unproductive, or completely ſterile; a vaſt proportion of the unreclaimed land of Ireland is undoubtedly the contrary. In other countries, the operation of reclaiming requires conſiderable ſkill; and in moſt inſtances is attended with immenſe expenſe. In Ireland, where nature is rather to be aſſiſted than overcome, it requires but little ſkill; and the attendant expenſe, if viewed in conjunction with the future permanent profit, is ſcarcely ſufficient to deter the moſt timid ſpeculator. In moſt other countries, the natural means of fertilizing ſuch land as has been prepared by an expenſive proceſs for the plough, are extremely ſcanty: in Ireland they are almoſt every where found in the greateſt abundance and perfection. It is to be obſerved too, that Ireland, as before noticed, ſurpaſſes moſt other countries in the means of tranſporting the produce of its ſoil to diſtant parts; a circumſtance eminently favourable to the progreſs of cultivation in waſte and thinly peopled diſtricts. To this circumſtance, and alſo to the abundance of natural manures, may be aſcribed, for inſtance, the cultivation of the waſte land in the neighbourhood of Clew-bay, and that in the county of Sligo; and to this alſo muſt hereafter be aſcribed the tranſmutation of the extenſive bog of Allen into rich paſture.

In moſt of the mountainous diſtricts of Ireland, 5000 acres will be found to yield more and better food for cattle than 100,000 in many parts of Scotland or Wales. The Iriſh mountains are entirely different from thoſe of the countries juſt mentioned. Herbage of ſome ſort or other grows on the very ſummits of ſome of the loftieſt in Ireland; but in Scotland and for the moſt part in Wales, cattle ſtray from their paſture as they aſcend the mountain's brow. The peculiar tendency of the Iriſh ſoil to graſs is ſuch, that the mountainous land yields good ſuſtenance to prodigious droves of young cattle. In the ſummer of 1805, the writer ſaw cattle on the mountains which lie in the ſouth-eaſt part of the county of Limerick, in ſuch good condition, without a ſingle exception, as to be almoſt fit for the ſlaughter-houſe. In the mountainous barony of Mourne, in the county of Down, great numbers of horſes are bred. The baronies of Roſsclogher and Drumahair, in the county of Leitrim, which are nearly covered with mountains, ſend forth immenſe droves of young cattle. Flocks of ſheep find paſture in the mountainous diſtricts of the county of Donegal. The mountains

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mountains near the ſea in the county of Sligo are covered with ſheep. In the wild and remote barony of Erris, in the county of Mayo, great numbers of cattle are reared. The mountains of Galway alſo contribute conſiderably to the great fair which is held at Ballinaſloe, in that county; and in which there is annually exhibited for ſale, one year with another, at leaſt fourſcore thouſand ſheep, and near 10,000 horned cattle *. Thoſe of the county of Clare ſupport conſiderable numbers, as does the mountainous and heathy barony of Duhallow, in the county of Cork. Between the baronies of Muſkerry and Barrets, in the ſame county, there is a great tract of bog, on which vaſt numbers of cattle are fed in ſummer. The mountain called Slieve Bloom, in the King's county, affords excellent paſture to young cattle. Young cattle are likewiſe reared on the mountains of the county of Kerry in great numbers, where, moreover, a vaſt many ſwine, according to the report of Mr. Young, are well fattened by the tormentile root which abounds there †. "On M'Gillicuddy's reeks," ſays that gentleman, "which is the wildeſt and moſt deſolate region in Kerry, ſheep are fattened better than on the low-lands ‡." Great numbers of cattle are alſo reared in the mountainous parts of the counties of Tipperary and Waterford §.

In fact the mountains of Ireland are the principal nurſeries for thoſe immenſe herds of bullocks and cows which are fattened or fed on the luxuriant low-lands; and almoſt the only nurſeries for thoſe which are annually exported to England, and of which the number in four years, ending 5th January 1804, amounted to 106,578, worth, according to the prices current in that year, 1,044,464l. The number exported in two years, ending 5th January 1808, was 54,115 ¶.

The bogs of Ireland, which cover a vaſt deal more of its ſurface than its mountains, differ exceedingly, according to the obſervations of Mr. Young, from the boggy, moory, and fenny lands of England, with regard to facility of reclaiming, and ſtill more ſo in point of ſubſequent value.

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* See table No. 6 in the Appendix. † Vol. ii. p. 87. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 119.

§ In moſt parts of Ireland, when the land is neglected, there ſprings up an abundance of furze (Ulex Europæus), one acre of which, as the writer has been credibly informed, is found ſufficient, in the weſtern part of the county of Cork, to maintain three horſes during the winter.

¶ See table No. 6 in the Appendix.

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The draining of the latter is often attended with enormous expenſe, which in very few inſtances is the caſe with the former. They are frequently found elevated above the level of the circumjacent country, and in general there is, from ſome part or other of each, a ſufficient declivity to admit of a complete diſcharge of their collected waters. Some of them are ſituated on the tops or ſides of mountains, and might be rendered perfectly dry and fit for cultivation with but very little labour. The great bog of Allen, which, in detached maſſes, pervades the county of Kildare, the King's and Queen's counties, and ſkirts that of Weſtmeath, and was ſaid, when Mr. Young wrote, to contain 300,000 acres, is far above the level of the ſea, and gives riſe to ſeveral rivers, into which its ſtagnant water might be eaſily conducted, and which might, at little expenſe, be employed in improving it. The Rye takes its riſe in the bog of Cappagh. From Boyle in the county of Roſcommon, to Ballymoate in that of Sligo, there is a great bog which was reported, when Mr. Young travelled through it, to contain 22,400 acres. Of this bog, he ſays, "nothing would be eaſier than to drain it, vaſt tracts of land have ſuch a fall that not a drop of water could remain:" and then exclaims, "what an immenſe field for improvement *!" Between Killarney and Nedeen, in the county of Kerry, there is a great tract of mountainous bog, which the ſame gentleman ſaid was the moſt improveable of any he had ſeen †. In the ſame county, between Killarney and Caſtleiſland, there is a vaſt bog, which, he ſays, may alſo eaſily be improved, it being almoſt dry ‡. The ſmaller bogs of Ireland are in general at leaſt as advantageouſly circumſtanced as theſe. The whole, collectively taken, conſtitute a moſt copious ſource of future wealth; being for the moſt part convertible into the richeſt poſſible meadow and paſture. "No meadows," ſays Mr. Young, "are equal to thoſe gained by improving a bog; they are of a value which ſcarce any other lands riſe to §."

To reclaim a very conſiderable part of the mountains of Ireland, and to render many of them almoſt as fertile as the low-lands, ploughing or paring, and the ſuperinduction of manure are all that is requiſite. "The mountains in the county of Antrim," ſays Mr. Young, "conſiſt of exceeding good loam, and ſuch as would improve into good meadow ‖." The ſides

* Vol. i. p. 310. † Vol. ii. p. 90. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 121.
§ Vol. ii. part 2. p. 74. ‖ Vol. i. p. 210.

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of ſeveral mountains in the county of Fermanagh are of good dry limeſtone *. Great tracts of mountain in the county of Mayo are capable of the greateſt improvement †. Conſiderable tracts of the mountains near the northern boundary of the county of Cork, which a few years ago produced nothing but heath, are actually covered with corn and potatoes, and appear almoſt as fertile as the low-lands. The mountains and bogs in the county of Antrim, and in many other places, have undergone the ſame change; as alſo ſome of the mountains in the county of Waterford. "Although," ſays Mr. Young, "the proportion of waſte territory is not, I apprehend, ſo great in Ireland as it is in England, yet are the tracts of deſert mountains and bogs very conſiderable. *Upon theſe lands is to be practiſed the moſt profitable huſbandry in the king's dominions* ‡." In his Farmer's Calendar he alludes to mountain tracts in Ireland, containing from 20,000 to 30,000 acres, of which three-fourths might be irrigated.

That the remark juſt quoted was well founded, there has already been afforded ſome reaſon for believing, when notice was taken of the facility with which the bogs, compoſing the greateſt portion of the waſte land of Ireland, might be drained. But the circumſtances which corroborate it completely, ſtill remain to be conſidered; namely, the abundance of natural manures which are to be found either in or near the greater part of thoſe places where their agency is chiefly required, and the inconſiderable expence likely to be incurred by reſorting to them.

The bog of Allen, like moſt others in Ireland, lies, generally ſpeaking, on a ſtratum of limeſtone-gravel, the effects whereof in fertilizing land are, as will preſently be more fully noticed, amazingly great. If proportionately to the extent of this bog and that of the Bedford level, ſtretching through the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, one half, or one quarter of the money which was expended on the latter, were appropriated to the draining and manuring of the former, it would ſpeedily attain a place among the more luxuriant paſtures of Ireland; and far ſurpaſs the greater part of thoſe of which England boaſts. The roads through this bog are made of limeſtone-gravel, obtained from beneath it; and their verges are covered with white clover, the ordinary herbage produced by that incomparable manure. In the great bog before noticed, which

* Vol. i. p. 277. † Vol. i. p. 357. ‡ Tour, vol. ii. part 2. p. 69.

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lies between Boyle and Ballymoate, there is plenty of limeſtone, and in many parts of it, limeſtone-gravel *. In another great bog on the borders of the county of Longford, both of theſe manures are every where found †. In the bogs and mountains of Sligo alſo, limeſtone and limeſtone-gravel abound ‡. In the mountains of Fermanagh limeſtone is to be had in plenty §. In the mountainous part of Mayo limeſtone-gravel is at hand ¶. Such alſo is the caſe in the boggy parts of Leitrim ‖.

Thus far Mr. Young. The authors of the ſeventeen different ſtatiſtical ſurveys, lately publiſhed, ſpeak of the condition and circumſtances of the waſte land, wherever found, in the ſame terms as that gentleman. In that of Londonderry, it is obſerved, that the waſte lands are for the greater part very reclaimable; that rich marles of different colours are found there, as alſo a ſoft and oily lime, which may be dug with a ſpade; and that great quantities of ſhells, excellent manure, are found near the coaſt, and drawn ſeveral miles up the country. In that of Monaghan it is obſerved, that the waſte land there is alſo very reclaimable; that reclaimed moor has been raiſed from nothing to 5l. per acre rent; that there is found there an incomparable manure called decayed limeſtone; and that there is limeſtone and abundance of marle in the mountains. In that of Mayo it is ſtated, that the waſte land is every where reclaimable; limeſtone-gravel almoſt every where found, and in many places marle. In that of the King's county it is obſerved, that the bogs have every where a fall; that limeſtone-gravel abounds; and that one crop will pay the expence of improving with it. In that of Leitrim it is ſtated, that limeſtone and limeſtone-gravel are every where, as alſo marles of different ſorts. In ſhort, that the county abounds with natural manures.

In that of Donegal it is obſerved, that moſt of the mountains are improvable, being interſected with limeſtone rock; that limeſtone-gravel is found in the mountains, and abounds from Donegal to Killybegs; and that ſhelly ſand is found in plenty off the coaſt. Decompoſed limeſtone, an incomparable manure, is alſo found in the mountains of Donegal. In that of Tyrone it is ſtated, that the waſtes are reclaiming faſt by means of limeſtone and gravel. In that of the Queen's county it is affirmed, that lime-

* Young's Tour, vol. i. p. 310. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 298. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 340.
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 277. ¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 344-355. ‖ Ibid. vol. i. p. 180.

ſtone

ſtone and gravel are every where; and that the fineſt meadows are obtained from bog. In that of Wicklow it is aſſerted, that at one ſide of a hedge the land was not worth ſixpence an acre, but that at the other it afforded paſture to bullocks worth twenty guineas a-piece, in conſequence of being improved by limeſtone-gravel. In that of Cavan it is obſerved, that moſt parts of the waſte land, eſpecially the bogs, are very reclaimable; and yield the ſweeteſt herbage. In that of Sligo and others, Mr. Young's obſervations are moſt fully confirmed.

The expenſe of fertilizing bogs and mountains by means of limeſtone-gravel and marle, and alſo the ſubſequent profit, at the time when Mr. Young viſited Ireland, appear in a multitude of paſſages in his account of his tour. To cite theſe paſſages here would be equally tedious to the reader, and unneceſſary; it being ſufficient to refer him to them, and to obſerve, that the average expenſe was about thirty ſhillings per acre; being in ſome places ſo high as three pounds, but in very many ſo low as nineteen ſhillings; and that the rent of the land was thereby at leaſt quadrupled in all inſtances; in many, raiſed from nothing to one pound; in ſome, from ſixpence to thirty ſhillings, and even to forty *.

If

* The following is an account of the expenſe and profit of reclaiming and improving 640 acres of heathy mountain in the county of Mayo, encloſed in 64 diviſions of 10 acres each, drawn up by Mr. Young on the information obtained from lord Altamont:

	£.	s.	d.
Two miles of road	100	0	0
5760 perches of wall	1442	10	0
40 iron gates	200	0	0
Sanding with limeſtone ſand	984	0	0
Three years' intereſt of 1000l. to begin with, at 6 per cent.	180	0	0
10 farm-houſes, &c.	500	0	0
	1406	10	0
Profit by potatoes	1280	0	0
Do. by 3 crops of oats	3840	0	0
	5120	0	0
Deduct 7 years' intereſt at 6 per cent. on 3400l.	1428	0	0
Neat profit	3692	0	0
Original expence	3406	10	0
Profit	285	10	0

let,

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If the average annual value of rough and uncultivated land, in the year 1778, be taken ſo high as five ſhillings per acre, the average expenſe of fertilizing it with limeſtone-gravel at thirty ſhillings, the average increaſe of annual value at ten ſhillings, and the average duration of the efficacy of the manure at ſix years, the profit was then 331. 6s. 8d. per cent. during that period. But if the annual value of mountain and bog be taken at ſixpence, the riſe at twenty ſhillings, and the expenſe at thirty, the profit was 661. 13s. 4d. per cent. for ſix years. Well, therefore, might Mr. Young affirm, that on the waſte lands of Ireland might be practiſed the moſt profitable huſbandry in the king's dominions.

Since he wrote, the wages of rural labour, and conſequently the expence of improving waſte land, have increaſed greatly; but the value of land has increaſed in a much greater degree*. The preſent, therefore, ſeems ſtill more alluring than the paſt proſpect of gain.

A ſkilful expenditure of nine millions of money on the beſt circumſtanced parts of the unreclaimed land of Ireland would, beyond all doubt, add, at leaſt, three millions to its permanent rental, and thereby much more than compenſate for the annual remittances to abſentees.

Such an expenditure, moreover, would unqueſtionably enable Ireland to ſupply, moſt amply, the growing wants of England, after ſatisfying thoſe of her own rapidly increaſing population. If even the amount of the difference between the military expenſes of Ireland, in the year ended in March 1794, after the war had begun, and thoſe in the year ended in March 1800, and which was no leſs than 3,986,304l. †, had been thus applied, the laſt beneficial effect at leaſt would have reſulted therefrom. The quantity of corn, of all ſorts, imported into England, on an average of three years, ended in January 1799, was 247,000 tons, valued at 2,714,406l. 3s. 4d. Of this the corn imported annually from Ireland was worth 435,003l. But had even one-eighth part of its waſte land been perfectly reclaimed, though even defectively managed, as at preſent, the whole ſupply required by the former, and more too, might eaſily have been furniſhed by the latter; and

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let, on an average, at 15 ſhillings per acre, which is what lord Altamont is clear is the loweſt price it can be reckoned at, it is per annum 480l. An income of 480l. is created without expence." Vol. i. p. 357-8-9.

* See the tables marked 19, 20, 22, in the Appendix.

† See table marked 14 in the Appendix.

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the money employed in the purchaſe of it would, after fertilizing the land of Ireland, have ſpeedily flowed back, through different channels, to England. Paradoxical as it may be thought by ſome, it might be ſhewn, without much ingenuity, that the general wealth of England would be eventually much leſs diminiſhed by purchaſing whatever ſupplies of corn ſhe might have occaſion for from Ireland, than from foreign countries, though ſhe were to pay 30 per cent more to the former than to the latter.

The internal communication of the different parts of Ireland, it is true, is as yet very far from being ſo perfect as it might be; the poſſible produce, however, of at leaſt one-eighth of its uncultivated land, might actually be exported to England, or tranſported at little expenſe from one part of Ireland to another.

Hitherto, the valuable and abundant natural manures of Ireland have been conſidered merely with reference to their efficacy in improving bog and mountain. There is, however, another very important reſpect in which they remain to be viewed; namely, the advantage which they afford, by their agency in meliorating or recovering ſuch lands as have long ſince ceaſed to be in a ſtate of nature.

In thoſe parts of moſt countries which are remote from large towns, the cultivation of a farm, owing to a deficiency of good natural manures, muſt, in general, be proportionate to the ſtock of cattle kept thereon. But in Ireland, where ſuch manures almoſt every where abound, the dung of cattle is not indiſpenſably requiſite to the progreſs of agriculture; and accordingly, much leſs attention is paid to its collection than is obſervable in other countries. Labour and ſkill alone will render the lands of Ireland fertile in the extreme; but the labour and ſkill of man require, in moſt other countries, an additional agent for producing this effect. Mr. Young tells us, that on the coaſt of Mayo, where ſea and other manures are in plenty, "the common people let their dunghills accumulate till they become ſuch a nuiſance that they remove their cabins to get rid of them *." He ſays likewiſe, and the fact is well known, that the dung of the city of Limerick was generally thrown into the river Shannon. He alſo took occaſion to remark, that, in ſeveral parts of Ire-

* Vol. i. p 362.

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land the farmers burnt their ſtraw; and that a foddering yard was rarely to be ſeen.

With the exception of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Tyrone and Antrim, limeſtone is found, in the greateſt abundance, in every county in Ireland, as is alſo, with the exception of a few counties, that incomparable manure limeſtone-gravel. White, grey and blue marles, of the beſt quality, are likewiſe found in moſt of the counties, and compenſate, in ſome of them, eſpecially in Wexford, for a deficiency of lime.

In almoſt every page of the account which the experienced farmer and diligent inquirer, juſt mentioned, has given of his tour in Ireland, the extraordinary effects of theſe manures are related. To quote the different paſſages of which they are the ſubjects, ſeems quite unneceſſary. It will ſuffice to ſay, on his authority, fully confirmed by the teſtimony of others, that the effects of limeſtone-gravel, when properly managed, in fertilizing land, are, in almoſt every part of Ireland, very great, in many, aſtoniſhingly ſo; and that the worſe the land manured thereby, the greater the effect produced: that it laſts from five to ſeven years; and that its effects are viſible from ten to fifteen: that it is found in the greater part of thoſe places where its agency is moſt requiſite; that it kills heath, changes the nature of moors, and brings white clover in abundance on rough lands and bogs: that the three ſorts of marle, before mentioned, are found either under clay, in the river Shannon, or under bogs; which laſt is generally the caſe: and that their effects are, in ſeveral caſes, not much inferiour to thoſe of limeſtone-gravel.

Theſe manures were not generally known 20 years before Mr. Young wrote; nor was the management of them, eſpecially the marle, then underſtood, nor is it indeed even at preſent. In the county of Longford, he tells us, that neither lime nor marle were uſed, though on the ſpot *; that in the King's county, neither lime nor limeſtone-gravel were uſed, though both were in plenty †; and that in the county of Sligo, where there is an amazing quantity of limeſtone, none was burnt for manure ‡.

That the Iriſh ſhould neglect, or be ignorant of the value of theſe manures, about the middle of the laſt century, or 20 years before Mr. Young wrote, can afford, however, but little matter of ſurpriſe; the

* Vol. i. p. 295. † Vol. i. p. 219. ‡ Vol. i. p. 331.

tillage

tillage of Ireland being then, comparatively ſpeaking, exceedingly circumſcribed.

But it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that their miſmanagement of theſe manures, and the land which they apply them to, ſhould ſtill continue. The effects of this miſmanagement, eſpecially with reſpect to limeſtone-gravel, are ſtrikingly viſible in every county where it abounds. The ſoil, in very many places, appears to have been conſiderably injured, rather than benefited by it. After gravelling their land, they ſometimes take 10 or 12 crops of grain off it, without the intervention of a ſingle lay crop; and then recur to the operation of gravelling, though on a limeſtone-gravel ſoil. A ſhort reſpite from ploughing, or the occaſional application of turf mold, which is generally near at hand, would reſtore their exhauſted land, and render it as fertile as its ſubſtratum, limeſtone-gravel, uniformly does a bog.

The ſea coaſts likewiſe, from which, by the way, no part of Ireland is at a greater diſtance than 50 miles, furniſh an inexhauſtible ſupply of manures. Coral ſand, a manure of ſuperiour value, is found on the ſouth coaſt in Baltimore-bay; on the ſouth-weſt coaſt in Bantry-bay; on the weſt coaſt in Tralee-bay, Clew-bay, Roundſtone-bay, Kilkerran harbour, and Galway-bay; on the north coaſt in Mulroy-harbour; on the eaſt coaſt off Brayhead in the county of Wicklow, and in other places. Shelly ſand, which nearly equals the coral in effect, is found on the ſouth-weſt coaſt in Dunmanus-bay; on the eaſt coaſt near Birr iſland, in Red-bay, and in many other parts of the ſame coaſt. Sea weeds, ſea ſand of different colours, and ſea ooze, are found in abundance all round the coaſt; and, except the laſt, which has lately been found to be a very good manure, are every where uſed, with excellent effect, by the farmers who live within five or ſix miles of the coaſt.

The following analyſis of ſome of theſe ſea manures, was made, a few years ago, by a gentleman of the city of Cork, converſant in matters of this nature:

	Carbonate of lime. parts.	Argil and iron. parts.	Silicious earth. parts.
Mud from Courtnaſherry harbour -	24	4	72
Sand from Ringabella bay - -	27	5	68

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	Carbonate of lime. parts.	Argil and iron. parts.	Silicious earth. parts.
Blue ſand from Courtnaſherry harbour -	29	4	67
Brown do. do. - -	56	4	40
do. from Oyſter-haven - -	67	2	31
Red ſand from the ſtrand near Clonakilty -	69	2½	28½
Coral ſand from Bantry bay -	100	—	—

The red ſand, from the neighbourhood of Clonakilty, is found to be of ſo very fertilizing a nature, eſpecially when applied to certain ſoils, that it is carried ſeveral miles into the interiour of the country, as is the ſhelly ſand, on the coaſt of Londonderry, at the other extremity of Ireland. The writer has ſeen near 500 horſes aſſembled at the ſtrand where the former is found. The expenſe of manuring an acre with coral ſand, in the neighbourhood of Bantry bay, in which it is dredged up, is but 3l., as the writer was informed on the ſpot. The quantity uſed is 80 bags. The good effects of it are experienced for 16 years.

Beſides theſe manures, there is a marine production, dredged up in Baltimore bay, which the common people call *wool*, from its reſemblance, when dried and preſſed, to that article. It is of a dark brown colour, and appears to be a ſpecies of moſs. It was diſcovered about two years ago, and has been found an excellent manure for potatoes. The quantity laid on, is about eight boat loads per acre, which coſt half a guinea each. From 60 to 200 boats are conſtantly employed, during the ſummer, in collecting it.

Thus does Ireland appear to poſſeſs, in the greateſt abundance, a vaſt variety of thoſe natural means, whereby the labour and ſkill of man may, with certain efficacy, be employed in diminiſhing the quantity of unproductive land; and in preſerving and heightening the fertility of that from which his actual ſupplies of food are drawn.

The different diſadvantages which the agriculture of Ireland laboured under, throughout the greater part of the laſt century, and which ſhall be noticed in their proper place, had, almoſt neceſſarily, the effect of preventing an accumulation of capital among thoſe who, with a view to a livelihood, were principally concerned in that purſuit. The wealthier occupiers of the land were generally engaged in the buſineſs of paſture; and

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and the profits thence accruing to them were, for the moſt part, expended in the purchaſe of thoſe articles, which the prevailing practice of exceſſive hoſpitality required; ſeldom or never in agricultural projects. Several of the country gentlemen purſued tillage in their reſpective demeſnes, with ſome ſpirit and ſome ſkill, chiefly with the view of ſupplying the demands of their families; but few of them extended their views to the augmentation of their rentals, by the improvement of the waſte and unproductive land which they poſſeſſed. The families of thoſe few who did ſo, experience, in a high degree, at this day, the peculiarly beneficial reſults of the enterprize and induſtry of their anceſtors. Country gentlemen, indeed, as Adam Smith ſomewhere remarks, are the moſt timid of all undertakers. The generality of them in Ireland could not, or at leaſt thought they could not conveniently abridge their annual expences, in ſuch a manner as to enable them to collect a ſufficient capital for carrying into effect extenſive plans of improvement; and many of them were probably deterred from adding to the burdens of their encumbered eſtates by borrowing money for ſuch a purpoſe. The tillage of Ireland for home ſupply, for there was not ſufficient encouragement held forth to cultivate corn for exportation, was chiefly carried on by thoſe who engaged in it with no other capital than the aid of three or four luſty ſons or partners, whoſe united endeavours were directed, during their ſhort leaſes, to extract from the land as much as the condition in which they found it would admit of; and whoſe annual profits, hardly earned, after defraying the trivial expenſes of their food and clothing, were very rarely ſufficient to qualify them for any agricultural undertaking which ſeemed likely to be attended with even moderate expence. Hence it happened, that the waſte land of Ireland, preſenting ſuch an immenſe ſource of wealth, was left almoſt neglected until near the cloſe of the laſt century.

The corn-bounties and regulations of 1784, which ſhall be diſcuſſed at large hereafter, and the ſubſequent increaſing demand for the products of the land, have, however, of late, wonderfully ameliorated the circumſtances of this claſs of farmers, and thoſe of that above them; and have conſequently enabled them, in many inſtances, in moſt parts of Ireland, not only to treat their productive land with ſomewhat greater liberality than formerly, but to direct their labour to thoſe great mines of wealth, the bogs and mountains.

But

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But ſtill the general aim of the Iriſh farmer is rather to extract a capital from the land, than to render a capital, previouſly acquired, productive of extraordinary annual profit by the inſtrumentality of the land.

This prepoſterous mode of proceeding, which originated in neceſſity, and was continued through habit, muſt, however, gradually give way to its oppoſite. The national induſtry of Ireland appears to tend, in a peculiar manner, to agriculture, and to thoſe trades which proſper as it advances.

Unleſs the Iriſh be allured by an extraordinary proſpect of gain to betake themſelves, with unuſual ardour, to any other manufacture for export, except the linen, the probability of their becoming competitors with the people of Britain, either in the Britiſh, or foreign markets, is extremely ſlight. But ſtill this tendency of Iriſh capital and induſtry to agriculture ſhould be ſeaſonably ſtrengthened and confirmed. The intereſts of Britain and Ireland will be found to require that it ſhould. The intereſt of Britain, long the vigilant and active deſtroyer of every infant manufacture in Ireland, at length requires her to become the zealous encourager of the greateſt, the moſt valuable, and the moſt durable manufacture that Ireland or any other extenſive country, ſimilarly circumſtanced, can poſſibly engage in. But of this more hereafter.

To return to facts: Of the cultivated land of Ireland, compriſing, as before ſhewn, 13,454,375 acres, or conſiderably more than two-thirds of its area, a very conſiderable portion may vie with the richeſt in Europe; and ſurpaſſes any of which England can boaſt. "Natural fertility," ſays Mr. Young, "acre for acre, over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland *." The counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Kilkenny, Roſcommon, Sligo, Meath, Armagh, Kildare, Weſtmeath and Galway, contain tracts of from 1000 to 100,000 acres, which it is difficult to exhauſt. The following paſſages convey Mr. Young's information reſpecting thoſe which fell under his obſervation: many well known to the writer unavoidably eſcaped it. "From Elphin towards Kingſton, eſpecially near the latter, the ſoil ranks among the fineſt I have any where ſeen. It is dry, ſound, mellow ſandy loam, deep and very rich, the herbage excellent †." This tract lies within about four miles of the Boyle river, which flows into the Shannon; and is about 20 miles from the port of Sligo. "A great part of Roſcom-

* Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 3. † Vol. i. p. 308.

mon,

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mon, particularly from Athlone to Boyle, 30 miles long and 10 broad, is ſheep walk. The ſoil is lime-ſtone. Theſe ſheep walks I had heard ſo much of that I was eager to make my inquiries concerning them; they were, ſome years ago, divided into much larger farms than at preſent, for there were men who had 20,000 ſheep: whereas now 6 or 7,000 is the greateſt flock *, &c." This tract of rich land reaches to the Shannon and runs parallel with it. "The ſoil about Monknewton is ſo good, that if uſed ever ſo ill it will recover, and there will be a good ſward †." This is in the neighbourhood of the navigable river Boyne. "Upon the river Blackwater, there are tracts of flat land, in ſome places a quarter of a mile broad; the graſs every where remarkably fine. It is the fineſt ſandy loam I have any where ſeen, of a reddiſh brown colour, would yield the greateſt arable crops in the world, if in tillage; it is five feet deep, and has ſuch a principal of adheſion, that it burns into good brick, yet it is a perfect ſand ‡." "The rich land reaches from Charleville to Tipperary by Kilfinane, a line of 25 miles, and acroſs from Ardpatrick to within four miles of Limerick 16 miles. Bruff, Kilmallock and Hoſpital have very good land about them; the quantity in the whole conjectured to be 100,000, acres (161,983 Engliſh meaſure). It is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, ſandy loam, 18 inches to three feet deep, the colour a reddiſh brown. It is a dry ſound land, and would do for turnips exceedingly well, for carrots, for cabbages, and in a word for every thing. I think, upon the whole, it is the richeſt ſoil I ever ſaw, and ſuch as is applicable to every purpoſe you can wiſh: it will fat the largeſt bullock, and at the ſame time do equally well for ſheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans, and in a word for every crop and circumſtance of profitable huſbandry §." "Towards Clonmel, the whole way through the ſame rich vein of red ſandy loam I have ſo often mentioned; I examined it in ſeveral fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility ‖." This tract reaches to the navigable river Suir. "The Corcaſſes on the Maag, are five miles long and two broad down to the Shannon; the ſoil is a kind of yellow and blue clay, of which they make bricks, but there is a ſurface of blue mould. The graſs of them is applied to fattening bul-

* Vol. i. p. 298. † Id. p. 49. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 28.
§ Id. p. 143. ‖ Id. p. 165.

locks,

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locks, from ſeven to eight cwt. each, and an acre fats one and gives ſome winter and ſpring food for ſheep. When they break this land up, they ſow firſt oats, and get 20 barrels an acre, or 40 common barrels, and do not reckon that an extra crop; they take 10 or 12 in ſucceſſion, upon one ploughing, till the crops grow poor, and then they ſow one of horſe beans, which refreſhes the land enough to take 10 crops more; the beans are very good *." According to this account the tract in queſtion would yield 256,000 common barrels of oats annually for 12 years without manure. "The Curragh of Kildare is a ſheep walk of above 4,000 Engliſh acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme ſoftneſs of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye, and is highly ſet off by the gentle inequality of ſurface. The ſoil is a fine dry loam on a ſandy bottom †." "There are tracts of ſuch incomparable land, on the Earl of Kingſton's eſtate, in the county of Cork, that I have ſeen very little equal to them except in Tipperary, Limerick, and Roſcommon. A deep friable loam, moiſt enough for the ſpontaneous growth to fat a bullock, and dry enough to be perfectly under command in tillage; if I was to name the characteriſtics of an excellent ſoil, I ſhould ſay that upon which you may fat an ox, and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way, I recollect little or no ſuch land in England, yet *it is not uncommon in Ireland* ‡." This land lies about ſeven miles from the river Blackwater. "There are 20,000 acres from Paradiſe-hill (county of Clare) along the Fergus and Shannon to Limerick. Theſe lands are called the *Corcaſſes*. The ſoil of them is either a rich black loam, or a deep rich blue clay. All the higher lands are limeſtone, or limeſtone-gravel. The richneſs of theſe *Corcaſſes* is very great. When in tillage they ſometimes yield extraordinary crops; 50 ſtat barrels an acre of bere have been known, ſixteen of barley, and from 20 to 24 of oats are common crops §." "The ſoil from Caſtle Iſland to Tralee (12 Engliſh miles) is all a rich limeſtone land. About Arabella I went over ſome exceeding fine reddiſh ſandy and gravelly loam, a prodigiouſly fine ſoil ‖." "To Ardfert through a continuation of excellent land and execrable management ¶." "The ſoil about Kilfaine

* Vol. ii. p. 135. † Id. p. 214. ‡ Id. p. 271.
§ Vol. i. p. 407. Vol. ii. p. 1. ‖ Vol. ii. p. 121. ¶ Id. p. 127.

(county

(county of Kilkenny) is as fine turnip land as any in the world *." "Paſs over much light, dry, ſandy, gravelly loam, as fine turnip land as I ever ſaw, but not one cultivated in the country. It is this ſoil all the way from Athy to Carlow, 12 Engliſh miles †." This tract lies contiguous to the navigable river Barrow. "Near Sir Capel Molyneux's domain (in the county of Armagh) I obſerved one of the fineſt red ſandy loams I have any where ſeen ‡." This is about eight miles from the ſouth Bann river, which with the aid of the Newry canal, communicates with the ſea in Carlingford habour.

From ſeveral of the ſtatiſtical ſurveys, lately publiſhed, conſiderable information on the ſubject before us may be obtained in addition to the information of Mr. Young. In that of the county of Meath, it is ſtated that the lands of Diamer in the barony of Fowre are ſo very rich that the firſt 10 or 12 crops are quite uſeleſs, running to ſtraw, and lodging; that 50 bullocks of 8 cwt. were fattened on 48 acres of the lands of Skreene; and that in the year 1800, which was very dry and unfavourable, 76 cows and two bulls were ſupported on 77 acres. In the ſtatiſtical ſurvey of the county of Londonderry, mention is made of very rich land in the neighbourhood of the river Foyle. In that of the King's county, it is obſerved that the land, throughout the baronies of Warrenſtown, Phillipſtown and Kilcourſey is all very rich. The county of Leitrim alſo, of which a great portion is waſte, is ſaid to contain ſome very rich land. Tyrone likewiſe contains much very rich land. So does the Queen's county, eſpecially in the barony of Slewmargy. In the ſtatiſtical ſurvey of the county of Sligo, it is ſtated that the land, in an area of one hundred and forty ſquare miles (equal to about 113,920 acres, Engliſh meaſure), and in the neigbourhoods of Mercra, Nympsfield, Ballimote, and Ballintogher, is, with little variation, deep, rich, and productive, fit for every ſpecies of tillage, fattening ſheep and the heavieſt oxen. In that of Mayo, it is ſaid that the fertile land in the barony of Gallen will bear two crops of potatoes, three of oats, and one of flax, with a ſingle dreſſing of limeſtone-gravel. In that of Armagh alſo the great general richneſs of the ſoil of that county is ſpoken of.

To theſe the writer could, if neceſſary, add many other inſtances of extraordinary fertility, in counties remote from each other; two

* Vol. i. p. 93. † Id. p. 86. ‡ Id. p. 271.

or three will ſuffice. On the lands of Collioure, the eſtate of the Honorable Admiral Packenham, thirteen good crops of oats have been taken in uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the ſame field without manure. On 18 acres of paſture, adjoining Garryhundon, the ſeat of Sir Richard Butler Bart., 18 bullocks and as many ſheep are generally fattened within the year. And the writer has ſeen two crops of potatoes and two of wheat, all excellent, obtained, without manure, in four years, from the ſame field in the demeſne of Moorepark, the ſeat of the Earl of Mountcaſhel, in the county of Cork.

In at leaſt 18, then, out of 32 counties, there are tracts of land, which, for the moſt part, are not to be ſurpaſſed in natural fertility by perhaps any other land in the world. And to an equality with theſe, it is certain that a vaſt proportion of the remaining bogs might eaſily be brought.

The traveller who haſtens through Ireland as moſt Britiſh touriſts do, and beholds its richeſt paſtures overgrown with thiſtles, fern, ragwort, and other weeds, will find it difficult to believe that its ſoil is much more fertile than that of the highly cultivated fields of England. "You muſt examine into the Iriſh ſoil," ſays Mr. Young, "before you can believe that a country which has ſo beggarly an appearance, can be ſo rich and fertile *." In point of natural fertility, Ireland is, however, greatly ſuperior to England. Yet, owing to an heretofore univerſal want of capital, as before noticed, among the more numerous claſs of farmers, in addition to habitual negligence and ſupineneſs on the part of many, and a lamentable deficiency of agricultural knowledge on that of others, the products of Ireland, which ought unqueſtionably to be to thoſe of England as at leaſt 6 to 5, are as 4 to 5 only. In other words, the former ought to produce at leaſt one half more than it actually does †. The average produce of wheat, barley, and oats in England, according to the information obtained by Mr. Young, in the courſe of his northern and eaſtern tours, was 124 peſks per acre; that of Ireland, as appears in his account of his tour, only 101½. Moreover a very conſiderable part of the arable land of Ireland, not leſs perhaps than one-tenth, is, by a long and ruinous ſucceſſion

* Vol. ii. p. 147.

† The experiments of Mr. Parkinſon ſhew that the produce of Iriſh land may be more than trebled by purſuing the Engliſh mode of culture. Parkinſon's Iriſh Farming.

of

of grain crops, without manure, annually reduced almoſt to a ſtate of ſterility, from which, however, it recovers in about two or three years *, and is

* It generally happens, eſpecially in the ſouthern parts of Ireland, that land thus exhauſted and abandoned, throws up ſpontaneouſly, about the third year, a profuſion of white clover and trefoil, likewiſe red clover, wild vetch, and ſeveral of the more valuable graſſes in the ſubjoined liſt.

This liſt of the indigenous or wild graſſes of Ireland was drawn up for the writer by Mr. John White, under-gardener in the botanic garden belonging to the Dublin ſociety at Glaſneven. He is actually preparing for the preſs an ample ſyſtematic arrangement of them, with their names in Iriſh, the principal places where they abound, and every requiſite illuſtration of them.

Anthyllas	*Kidney Vetch.*
Vulneraria	common.
Orobus	*Bitter Vetch.*
Tuberoſus	tuberoſe.
Lathyrus	*Vetchling.*
Pratenſis	meadow.
Vicia	vetch.
Sylvatica	wood.
Cracca	tufted.
Sativa	common.
Sepium	buſh.
Trifolium	*Trefoil.*
Officinale	melilot.
Ornithopodeoides	birds-foot.
Repens	creeping.
Pratenſe	bed-clover.
Medium	cow-graſs.
Maritimum	ſea.
Arvenſe	hares-foot.
Scabrum	rough.
Glomeratum	round-headed.
Fragiferum	ſtrawberry.
Agrarium	hop.
Procumbens	procumbent.
Filiforme	leaſt.
Lotus	*Birds-foot trefoil.*
Corniculatus	common.
Villoſus	hairy.
Chicorum	*Succory.*
Intybus	common.
Poterium	*Burnet.*
Sanguiſorba	common.
Achillea	*Millefoil.*
Millefolium	common yarrow.
Plantago	*Plantain.*
Lanceolata	rib-graſs.
Anthoxanthum	*Spring-graſs.*
Odoratum	ſweet-ſcented.
Eriophorum	*Cotton-graſs.*
Vaginatum.	ſheathed.
Polyſtachion	common.
Anguſtifolium	narrow-leaved.
Nardus	*Mat-graſs.*
Stricta	upright.
Phalaris	*Canary-graſs.*
Arenaria	ſand.
Panicum	*Panic-graſs.*
Sanguinale	cocks-foot.
Phleum	*Cats-tail-graſs.*
Pratenſe	meadow.
Alpinum	alpine.
Rodoſum	knotted.
Milium	*Millet-graſs.*
Effuſum	common.
Alopecurus	*Fox-tail-graſs.*
Pratenſis	meadow.
Geneculatus	knee-bent.
Agroſtis	bent-graſs.
Canina	brown.
Stolonifera	creeping.

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is ſucceeded in the claſs of unproductive land by an equal portion ſimilarly deteriorated. Such treatment would certainly render a vaſt proportion of the

Maritima	ſea.
Heſpida	fine.
Pumila	dwarf.
Minima	leaſt.
Aria	*Hair-graſs.*
Aquatica	water.
Criſtata	creſted.
Cæſpitoſa	turfy.
Flexuoſa	zig-zag.
Precox	early.
Caryophillea	ſilvery.
Melica	*Melic-graſs.*
Uniflora	one-flowered.
Cærulea	purple.
Poa	*Meadow-graſs.*
Aquatica	water.
Alpina	alpine.
Trivialis	rough-ſtalked.
Anguſtifolia	narrow-leaved.
Pratenſis	ſmooth-ſtalked.
Annua	annual.
Maritima	ſea, or ſalt-marſh.
Rigida	rigid.
Compreſſa	flat-ſtalked.
Nemoralis.	wood.
Diſtans	looſe-flowered.
Briza	*Quaking-graſs.*
Media	middle.
Dactylis	*Cocks-foot-graſs.*
Glomerata	common.
Cynoſurus	*Dogs-tail-graſs.*
Criſtatus	creſted.
Feſtuca	*Feſcue-graſs*
Bromoides	barren.
Ovina	ſheep's.
Vivipara	viviparous.
Rubra	red.
Duriuſcula	hard.
Dumeterum	wood.
Decumbens	decumbent
Elatior	tall.
Calamaria	reed-like.
Pratenſis	meadow.
Fluitans	float.
Loliacea	darnel-like.
Bromus	*Brome-graſs.*
Seculinus	rye-like.
Mollis	ſoft.
Erectus	upright.
Aſper	hairy.
Sterilis	barren.
Arvenſis	field.
Sylvaticus	ſlender-wood.
Pinnatus	winged.
Giganteus	gigantic.
Avena	*Oat-graſs.*
Elatior	tall.
Pubeſcens	downy.
Flaveſcens	yellow.
Pratenſis	meadow.
Arundo	*Reed-graſs.*
Phragmetis	common.
Colorata	canary.
Arenaria	ſea.
Lolium	*Darnel-graſs.*
Perenne	perennial.
Tenue	ſlender.
Temulentum	annual.
Arvenſe	corn.
Rottbollia	*Hard-graſs.*
Incurvata	ſea.
Elymus	*Lime-graſs.*
Caninus	bearded, or dog's.
Hordeum	*Barley-graſs.*
Marinum	wall.
Pratenſe	meadow.

Maritimum

the land of England altogether uſeleſs, for at leaſt twice the time that the abuſed land of Ireland is prevented from yielding ſuſtenance to man or beaſt.

In reſpect then of that paramount article, ſoil, as well as all the other phyſical advantages which facilitate the augmentation of national wealth, Ireland may be truly ſaid to hold a moſt diſtinguiſhed place among European countries. Were human induſtry and ſkill perſeveringly directed to the ſoil of Ireland, it might eventually be rendered, by the conſtant aid of an inexhauſtible ſupply of the very beſt natural manures of various natures, perhaps little, if at all, inferiour to that of Italy. And ſurely Ireland would then, upon the whole, be much more faithfully deſcribed in the words of Pliny, appoſitely quoted by Dr. Beaufort, as a motto to his memoir, than that country which the patriotiſm of the Roman naturaliſt

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Maritimum	ſea.	*Holcus*	*Loft graſs.*
Triticum	*Wheat graſs.*	Mollis	long-awned.
Junceum	ruſh-like.	Lanatus	ſhort-awned
Repens	couch or creeping.		
Loliaceum	dwarf.		

Theſe graſſes are indigenous in England alſo. But this difference between the two countries is to be remarked, that, with the exception of the meadow fox-tail, (Alopecurus Pratenſis,) the ſoil of Ireland, generally ſpeaking, throws up ſpontaneouſly the more valuable of theſe graſſes in the greateſt profuſion. The contrary of which is generally the caſe in England.

The following eſculent plants, among various others, alſo grow wild in Ireland:

Crambe Maritima ſea-cale. *Beta Maritima* ſea-beet.
Chenopodium bonus Henricus wild ſpinage.

Likewiſe the following ſhrubs:

Arbutus
Juniperus
Communis common.
Montana mountain.

* The common Tormentil (*Tormentilla erecta*) is found in great abundance in the mountainous diſtricts of Ireland. It s uſed as a ſubſtitute for oak bark in tanning.

The graſs-leaved *Acorus*, or Chineſe ſweet-graſs, which is highly valued in China, grows wild on the mountains above Caſtlewellan, in the county of Down.

 prompted

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prompted him to eulogize: "Situ ac ſalubritate cœli atque temperie, acceſſu cunctarum gentium facili, littoribus portuoſis, aquarum copia, montium articulis, ferorum animalium innocentia, pabuli ubertate: quicquid eſt quo carere vita non debeat, nuſquam eſt præſtantius; fruges, vellera, lina, juvenci *."

That Ireland greatly ſurpaſſes her ſiſter-country England, in the aggregate of the endowments of nature, is abundantly obvious. And it may fairly be queſtioned whether the latter, actually abounding in wealth beyond any other country in Europe, can boaſt of any one natural advantage which the former does not poſſeſs in a ſuperiour degree.

Recapitulation.—With a ſituation, then, ſo eminently favourable to foreign commerce; with a coaſt ſo free from danger, and every where preſenting ſafer and more capacious harbours and bays than are to be found in any other country, of equal extent, in the world; with ſo many noble rivers flowing through the land, in all directions, through the richeſt parts of it, through as fertile diſtricts as any in Europe, through diſtricts of unrivalled fertility, and terminating in harbours calculated not only by locality, but by every other requiſite, for the proſecution of the moſt extenſive traffick with every other nation under the canopy of Heaven; with ſuch vaſt advantages in reſpect of artificial navigations; with ſuch unequalled means of bringing all parts of the country, as it were, into contact one with another, and affording to each the varied markets of all the reſt; with a climate ſo far removed from the extremes of heat and cold, as to permit the unhouſed labourer to purſue his occupation, without danger or obſtruction, throughout the year, and to inſure an almoſt perpetual verdure to the paſtures; with ſuch an abundant ſupply of thoſe minerals and foſſils which are moſt neceſſary to the well-being of man, and on which human labour and ingenuity may be exerted with the fulleſt effect; with ſuch productive fiſheries, both off the coaſts and in the rivers and lakes; with a ſoil ſo luxuriant and inexhauſtible in many places, ſo fertile in moſt, and ſo capable in all others, of being rendered at a trifling expenſe, highly and permanently profitable; with a ſingular aſſemblage of all the various requiſites for becoming the great emporium of the commercial world, the theatre

* Nat. Hiſt. l. 37.

of

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of induſtry and arts, the granary of the weſt of Europe, and the ſucceſsful rival of all other countries, ancient or modern, in commercial opulence and national ſtrength; how has it happened that Ireland was not long ſince what the ſagacious ſir William Temple affirmed ſhe might become, "one of the richeſt countries in Europe?" How has it happened that ſhe did not long ſince make what he affirmed ſhe was capable of making, "a mighty increaſe of ſtrength and revenue to the crown of England?" How did it happen that this fair iſland, ſo profuſely gifted with all the more valuable boons of nature, continued until near the cloſe of the laſt century, in a ſtate of comparative obſcurity and national poverty? How did it happen that a ſpirit of induſtry, and a ſpirit of commercial enterprize, became completely extinguiſhed among the active, quick-ſighted, and adventurous people of Ireland? The ſolution of theſe queſtions is far from being either difficult or unintereſting. It will conſtitute the following part.

PART II.

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PART II.

OF THE CAUSES WHICH FRUSTRATED THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND.

SECTION I.

Reſpective political Conditions of Britain and Ireland.

THE cauſes which operated, until near the cloſe of the laſt century, in rendering almoſt abortive the various and eminent advantages obviouſly poſſeſſed by Ireland, are to be diſcovered, partly among the acts of the Britiſh legiſlature, and partly among thoſe of the ſubordinate legiſlature of Ireland.

From the Reſtoration, but eſpecially from the Revolution, to a very recent period, the conduct of the former towards Ireland, with reference to trade, appears to have been invariably governed by the illiberal ſuggeſtions, the deceptious repreſentations, the ſelfiſh remonſtrances and importunities of merchants; by an ill-judged eventual ſolicitude for the excluſive commercial advancement of Britain; and it, may perhaps be added, by a falſe perſuaſion of the expediency of keeping Ireland in a ſtate of debilitation, in order to her being the more eaſily managed. "The object of that ſpecies of policy which the Britiſh government had exerciſed towards Ireland, (ſaid Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech on the commercial propoſitions in the year 1785,) had been to debar her from the enjoyment and uſe of her own reſources, and to make her completely ſubſervient to the intereſts and opulence of Britain."

On the other hand, the legiſlature of Ireland, from the latter epoch, however the general tenor of its conduct might have been occaſionally qualified by the ſpirited reſiſtance of a few intelligent and patriotic individuals, appears to have acted as if bound alike by duty and intereſt to ſecond the deſtructive views of the government of Britain.

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Nor does the conduct of either, if duly examined, afford much ground for ſurpriſe.

During the earlier ſtages of ſucceſsful commerce, a mere mercantile ſpirit, and its inſeparable concomitant commercial jealouſy, are likely to have extenſive influence on the public mind in every country: and the varying exigencies of a commercial and belligerent nation, ſuch as Britain, are extremely unfavourable to its extinction.

From the Reſtoration to the Revolution, the commerce of England was greatly extended. The attention of the Engliſh, during that period, was much more directed to trade, than it had ever been during any former one. A mercantile ſpirit began to prevail; and ſoon acquired effective influence over the deciſions of the legiſlature. The nation throve in an unprecedented manner. The ſubſerviency of the legiſlature to the ſelfiſh views of merchants increaſed; and was inculcated, rather than reprobated, by the party and popular writers of the day. Every manufacture that was eſtabliſhed, every channel of commerce that was opened, and every excluſion that was ſuggeſted by Britiſh manufactures, for the purpoſe of obtaining a monopoly in the home market, and throughout the Britiſh dominions, was as ſtrenuouſly ſupported either by the pamphlets or ſpeeches of thoſe who aimed at a character for patriotiſm, as if the welfare of the nation depended altogether on the particular manufacture, trade, or excluſion, which intereſted individuals had obtruded on the conſideration of the public. Whatever oppoſition this ſpirit experienced, in its progreſs, from a few diſintereſted and deep-thinking men, was ſpeedily overcome, and brought into diſrepute with the nation at large. The opinions of ſelfiſh merchants over-ruled the liberal ones of other orders of men.—"The ſuperiority," ſays Adam Smith, "of merchants and maſter-manufacturers over the country gentleman is not ſo much in their knowledge of the public intereſt, as in their having a better knowledge of their own intereſt than he has of his. It is by this ſuperior knowledge of their own intereſt that they have frequently impoſed upon his generoſity, and perſuaded him to give up both his own intereſt and that of the public, from a very ſimple but honeſt conviction, that their intereſt and not his was the intereſt of the public *."

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 258.

Even

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Even after this incomparable writer had diffuſed his liberal and enlightened notions, and led the Britiſh public and Europe to a more intimate knowledge of the true principles of trade, than had before been attained, this mercantile ſpirit continued to preſerve its influence. He boldly and wiſely, but with little effect, adviſed his countrymen to beware of an implicit reliance on the propoſals of merchants and maſter-manufacturers. "The propoſal," ſays he, "of any new law or regulation of of commerce which comes from this order, ought always to be liſtened to with great precaution, and ought never to be adopted till after having been long and carefully examined, not only with the moſt ſcrupulous, but the moſt ſuſpicious attention. It comes from an order of men, whoſe intereſt is never exactly the ſame with that of the public, who have generally an intereſt to deceive and oppreſs the public, and who accordingly have, on many occaſions, both deceived and oppreſſed it *." His notions, it is true, appear to have made a due impreſſion on the Britiſh miniſtry in 1784; but the modifications, and indeed eſſential alteration, which the Iriſh commercial propoſitions underwent, amounted to a ſufficient evidence of the ſtill prevailing influence of the ſpirit in queſtion over the Britiſh legiſlature. The people of Britain were taught to believe, and did believe, that if theſe propoſitions received the ſanction of parliament, in their original ſtate, Ireland would become the emporium of the commodities of the Weſt, would underſell England every where, would attract Britiſh capitals, Britiſh merchants, and Britiſh manufactures; and, in ſhort, would ultimately prove the ruin of Britain. Yet when Ireland was, by other means, placed in the enjoyment of the advantages which theſe propoſitions held forth, none of the lamentable effects predicted by the apprehenſive avarice of traders enſued. On the contrary, the gains of England have been greater, and and her commercial dealings with Ireland much more extenſive ſince, than before. The quantities of thoſe different Britiſh manufactures, about which ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions were entertained, now annually purchaſed by Ireland, are, collectively, near four times greater than during the ſeaſon of apprehenſion; and the foreign merchandize exported from Ireland is ſtill a mere trifle; being to her produce and manufactures exported, as not more than 1 to 67†.

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 259. † See Tables marked No. IX. XI. XII. in the Appendix.

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It was long and generally received as a truth, among mercantile nations, and indeed, whatever may be the ſentiments of individuals, appears to be ſo at preſent, that the commercial wealth of one country may be augmented by a diminution of that of another; yet there are few truths better eſtabliſhed than the converſe of the propoſition. The excellent writer laſt quoted ſets this matter in a clear light, on more occaſions than one. "The wealth of a neighbouring nation," ſays he, "though dangerous in war and politics, is certainly advantageous in trade. In a ſtate of hoſtility it may enable our enemies to maintain fleets and armies ſuperior to our own; but in a ſtate of peace and commerce it muſt likewiſe enable them to exchange with us to a greater value, and to afford a better market, either for the immediate produce of our own induſtry, or for whatever is purchaſed with that produce. As a rich man is likely to be a better cuſtomer to the induſtrious people in his neighbourhood than a poor, ſo is likewiſe a rich nation. A rich man indeed, who is himſelf a manufacturer, is a very dangerous neighbour to all thoſe who deal in the ſame way. All the reſt of the neighbourhood, however, by far the greateſt number, profit by the good market which his expenſe affords them. They even profit by his underſelling the poorer workmen who deal in the ſame way with him. The manufacturers of a rich nation, in the ſame manner, may no doubt be very dangerous rivals to thoſe of their neighbours. This very competition, however, is advantageous to the great body of the people, who profit greatly beſides by the good market, which the great expenſe of ſuch a nation affords them in every other way. Private people who want to make a fortune never think of retiring to the remote and poor provinces of the country, but reſort either to the capital, or to ſome of the great commercial towns. They know that where little wealth circulates, there is little to be got, but that where a great deal is in motion, ſome ſhare of it may fall to them. The ſame maxims which would, in this manner, direct the common ſenſe of one, or ten, or twenty individuals, ſhould regulate the judgment of one, or ten, or twenty millions, and ſhould make a whole nation regard the riches of its neighbours, as a probable cauſe and occaſion for itſelf to acquire riches. A nation that would enrich itſelf by foreign trade is certainly moſt likely to do ſo when its neighbours are all rich, induſtrious, and commercial nations*."

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 488-9.

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If this reaſoning be true when applied to nations not even in a ſtate of federation, ſurely it is much more ſo when applied to nations ſubject to the ſame King. But plain unadulterated good ſenſe like this, with regard to commerce, was far from being in vogue about the time of the Revolution, and ſtill leſs ſo at a ſubſequent period; nor does it appear to have as yet perfectly ſucceeded in exploding its oppoſite.

About the epoch juſt mentioned, very ſerious apprehenſions began to be entertained of a dangerous rivalry on the part of Ireland; and theſe apprehenſions originating, no doubt, with merchants, were ſoon adopted by ſtateſman and political writers.

Sir William Temple in his letter on the advancement of trade in Ireland, written in 1673, to the Earl of Eſſex, ſays, "regard muſt be had to thoſe points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branches of the trade of England; in which caſes the encouragement of ſuch trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the intereſt of trade in England *." Speaking of the wool of Ireland he ſays, "the improvement of this commodity by manufacturers in this kingdom would give ſo great a damp to the trade of England, that it ſeems not fit to be encouraged here †."

Doctor Davenant, whoſe ideas on the ſubjects of commerce and government were juſt, liberal, and comprehenſive, appears to have ſubmitted, in the caſe of Ireland, to the ſpirit which dominated in his time.

"That the people of Ireland," ſays he, "ſhould increaſe, that their land ſhould be drained and meliorated, that they ſhould have trade and grow wealthy by it, may not, peradventure, be dangerous to England, for it is granted that their riches will enter at laſt here in their mother-country.

"And colonies that enjoy not only protection, but who are at their eaſe, and flouriſh, will in all likelihood be leſs inclined to innovate, or to receive a foreign yoke, than if they are haraſſed and compelled to poverty through the hard uſage of the people from whom they are derived. If ſeems therefore a point of the higheſt wiſdom to give the planters of Ireland all encouragement that can poſſibly conſiſt with the welfare of England; for it is an outwork to the ſeat of empire here; if it

* Miſcellaneous works, vol. iii. p. 13. † Ibid.

ſhould

ſhould be gained by any neighbouring power, the ſum of affairs would be put in danger. It is to be preſerved but by a numerous army, or by its own proper ſtrength. How far the firſt way may affect our liberties it is not difficult to determine; it follows then that the ſafeſt courſe muſt be to let them thrive by huſbandry, and *ſome trade*.—Ever ſince Ireland did improve, it can be made appear England has had no ſmall proportion of its gains *."

With theſe ſentiments, however, which were comparatively free from the influence of the prevailing ſpirit of commercial jealouſy, the Inſpector General's conduct and writings did not long continue to correſpond. He tells us that a bill had paſſed the Houſe of Commons and was committed to the Houſe of Lords, for prohibiting the exportation of the woollen manufactures of Ireland to foreign parts; that he had inclined to the milder ſide, being indeed, in *his judgment*, againſt prohibitions, becauſe moſt of ſuch as came within his obſervation ſeemed to have been puſhed on (without doors) rather for private ends and to ſerve ſome particular turn, than calculated to produce any public benefit.

But that having now more maturely conſidered this nice controverſy, he began to lean to their opinion who thought ſuch a bill neceſſary †.

The Inſpector General did not ſtop here;—for when it was in contemplation he ſet up the linen manufacture in Ireland as a compenſation for the loſs of the woollen, he oppoſed the plan on different grounds, concluding with ſaying, "that it ought to be carefully examined, whether or no a better expedient might not be thought on to ſtop the progreſs of the Iriſh in the new draperies, than to introduce the linen manufacture into Ireland? and whether it would not be beſt for both kingdoms to take off the prohibition upon Iriſh cattle? It is true," ſays he, "the breeding counties will be thereby ſomewhat hurt, but it will encourage improvements and melioration of barren land in order to feed, which will be advantageous to the whole public of the nation. It will diveſt thoſe of Ireland from thinking to extend their trade too much abroad; a *point not to be ſlighted*; and it will, in a manner, confine a principal part of their dealings to this kingdom; which for many reaſons of ſtate will be beſt and ſafeſt for England ‡."

* Political and commercial works, vol. ii. p. 237. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 239.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 257.

When

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When ſuch ſentiments were entertained by ſuch men as Temple and Davenant, it is natural to preſume that a high degree of commercial illiberality, towards the people of Ireland, was prevalent among thoſe of England. Such in fact was the caſe, not only about the period of the Revolution, but ever after. And this illiberality appears to have been always practically proportionate to the weakneſs of Ireland, reſulting from the diſunion of its inhabitants: and to have uniformly operated, on all commerciale mergencies, until the Iriſh people, ſtrengthened by unanimity, demanded and effected its repreſſion.

Ireland, though a diſtinct kingdom and acknowledged as ſuch, was conſidered and treated by England as a colony; and as a colony whereof the proſperity was deemed rather dangerous than beneficial to the mother-country. The duty and the intereſt of the Iriſh legiſlature evidently required an unalterable oppoſition to the ſyſtematic commercial oppreſſion practiſed by Britain. And there can be little doubt, that had the Iriſh nation at large, notwithſtanding its comparative weakneſs, manifeſted tendency to warrantable reſiſtance; or even had its ſubordinate legiſature repeatedly and loudly remonſtrated, and reſorted, on all fit occaſions, to the ſtrongeſt language of diſſatisfaction, that commercial oppreſſion would have been mitigated at leaſt, if not wholly diſcontinued. But unfortunately there were certain peculiarities in the Iriſh ſyſtem of civil polity, and in the circumſtances of Ireland, which had a direct tendency to facilitate any ſpecies of uſurpation on the part of Britain.

From the Houſe of Lords which compriſed a very great portion of the chief land proprietors of Ireland, or thoſe whoſe intereſt was principally at ſtake, little reſiſtance could well be expected. A very conſiderable number of them reſided conſtantly in England, where moreover many of them had large poſſeſſions, and conſequently were naturally as much intereſted in behalf of the welfare of that country, as they could be in behalf of the welfare of Ireland. Thoſe few who attended their parliamentary duty, in the latter, generally found themſelves, as the Journals of their houſe ſhew, out-numbered by the ſpiritual Lords, who appear to have been very punctual in their attendance; and of whom a large portion were Engliſhmen, and very few had territorial poſſeſſions of a permanent nature in Ireland.

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The Houſe of Commons, compoſed of perſons whom the nature of their election *, and the duration of their legiſlative powers †, exempted much more from popular reſtraint than the members of the Lower Houſe in Britain, and who conſequently were more liable to be ſwayed by the expedients which every clumſy miniſter may reſort to; deputed moreover, either nominally or really by a minority of the people, in a perpetual ſtate of hoſtility with the majority, and conſequently deſtitute of national ſupport; were not only not qualified to reſcue their country from its ignominious and miſerable condition, even though no ſuch law as that of Poynings, which ſubjected the parliament of Ireland to the controul of the Britiſh government, had exiſted, but ſufficiently pre-diſpoſed to adopt ſuch further meaſures, obſtructive of the welfare of Ireland, as might occaſionally be ſuggeſted or preſſed by ſucceſſive viceroys, no ways intereſted in its proſperity, but almoſt uniformly ſtudious to render the tenor of their government ſubſervient to the views of that of Britain.

As for the conſtituent body of Ireland, conſiſting excluſively of proteſtants, they were at all times eaſily alarmed by any repreſentation, however viſionary, of miſchievous deſigns in the contemplation of their Roman Catholic countrymen; or even by occaſional returns exhibiting an increaſe of their numeral ſtrength; and under the recurrent impulſe of fear, readily acquieſced, for a long time, in every meaſure tending to the gratification of that country on which alone they relied for ſupport. Beſides, among the individuals of this narrowed order of conſtituents, every thing in the gift of government, and every one of that endleſs and diverſified multitude of jobs, for which Ireland has ever been notorious, were excluſively diſtributed: and this partial diſtribution had neceſſarily the effect of diffuſing perſonal content, or at leaſt that of ſilencing clamours which would otherwiſe have been audible.

The inevitable final reſult of this unpropitious combination was, a very ſcanty and diſproportionate acquiſition of commercial wealth on the part of Ireland; and an almoſt utter extinction of a ſpirit of induſtry therein.

* The open boroughs in Ireland were few in compariſon of thoſe in England, which may be deemed ſo.

† The parliament continued during the life of the reigning king.

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To cramp, obſtruct, and render abortive the induſtry of the Iriſh, were the objects of the Britiſh trader. To gratify commercial avarice, to ſerve Britain at the expenſe of Ireland, or to facilitate the government of the latter, were the varying objects of the Britiſh miniſter. To keep down the *papiſts*, coſt what it would, and to augment their own revenues by the public money, inſtead of urging the adoption of wiſe, liberal, and patriotic meaſures calculated to quadruple the rents of their eſtates, were the objects of the reputed repreſentatives of the Iriſh people, and to ſecure themſelves from retaliations on the part of the Roman Catholics, whom they were encouraged to perſecute and taught to dread, was the general object of the Iriſh gentry.

The unimpeded purſuit of theſe different objects had neceſſarily the effect of debilitating Ireland; and preventing that rapid increaſe of wealth which ſhe muſt otherwiſe have experienced: an effect which proved ultimately detrimental to all who concurred in its production, from the Iriſh country-gentleman to the Britiſh trader, except perhaps the needy mercenary who bartered his vote in parliament. The land of the Iriſh proteſtant gentleman did not riſe in value as it would otherwiſe have riſen; the general ſtrength of the empire was not augmented as it might have been; nor were the demands of the Iriſh nation on the produce of Britiſh induſtry, ſo extenſive as they might otherwiſe have become.

In reviewing the different acts of the parliaments of Britain and Ireland, which affected the trade of the latter, it will be found that the trade of a diſtinct kingdom, the trade of an eſſential part of the Britiſh Empire, was unſuitably, unjuſtly, unwiſely, and oppreſſively limited like that of a colony; that the proſperity of Ireland was always ſacrificed to that of Britain; that, with the exception of the linen, every valuable manufacture eſtabliſhed in Ireland, or of the eſtabliſhment or even introduction whereof there was any proſpect, and which was likely to become in any degree a competitor, either in the home or foreign market, with a ſimilar one undertaken in Britain, however inſignificant, was induſtriouſly depreſſed; that the Iriſh were invariably obliged to give the preference to the produce of Britiſh induſtry; that, with the foregoing exception, no manufacture of Ireland was fairly received by Britain; that downright neceſſity alone occaſioned the admiſſion of even the rude produce of the former into the latter; that the acts of the Iriſh parliament which affected to

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aim at internal improvements, calculated to enlarge the trade of the country, or which purported to be for the advancement of any lucrative ſpecies of enterprize, were, for the moſt part, merely illuſive; that the commercial reſtraints, which Ireland laboured under were moſt grievous and moſt numerous when the Roman Catholics were moſt overpowered; that the late, but happy liberation of the Iriſh trade, and the emancipation of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, were coeval and concurrent; and that there is ſufficient reaſon to infer from the long and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of theſe reſtrictive and illuſive laws, that Ireland would have continued in a ſtate of thraldom to this day; had it not been for an accidental occurrence of auſpicious circumſtances tending to promote the principles of union among Iriſhmen; and to give ſuch effective energy to the popular voice, as was likely to inſure a legiſlative compliance with the warrantable demands of a long betrayed and oppreſſed people.

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SECTION II.

Engliſh Statutes reſtrictive of the Trade of Ireland.

THE peculiarly favourable ſituation of Ireland for commercial intercourſe with America and the Weſt Indies, was one of the firſt of thoſe natural advantages poſſeſſed by the former, which excited the apprehenſions of the mercantile body of England. And this apprehenſion, thus grounded, appears to have continued with unabated influence: for in the years 1784-5, as before noticed, when the Iriſh commercial propoſitions were in agitation, it was declared, in a fit of anger and deſpondency, both in and out of parliament, that in the event of their being acceded to by the legiſlature, Ireland muſt inevitably become the emporium of the commodities of the weſt.

By the 12 C. II. c. 18, the Iriſh were expreſsly enabled to participate with the Engliſh all the benefits ariſing from that prudent act, and accordingly traded freely with the plantations. But by the 15 C. II. c. 7, no commodities of the growth of Europe were to be imported into the plantations, but ſuch as were laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick, on pain of confiſcation, except ſalt for the fiſheries of New England and Newfoundland, wine from the Madeiras and Azores, and horſes, ſervants, and victuals from Scotland and Ireland; to which was added by 3 and 4 A. c. 8, and by 3 G. I. c. 21, linen from Ireland. But the Iriſh, not conſidering themſelves bound by the new law, (15 C. II.) carried on the trade as before. It was in conſequence ordered by 22 and 23 C. II. c. 26, that the word *Ireland* ſhould for the future be left out of all bonds taken for the delivery of plantation commodities in England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick; ſo that although the Iriſh were not expreſsly forbid to import them, yet the bonds being to be given for delivery in England, Wales, or Berwick, the Iriſh could not, without incurring the penalty of their bonds, deliver them any where elſe; and conſequently fell under the limitations of the navigation act, plantation act, &c. This act, which was a temporary one, was continued by

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5 G. I. c. 11, ſo long as the act of tunnage and poundage ſhould endure. By the 25 C. II. c. 17, ſhips refuſing to give bonds were only to pay certain duties. But by 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22, it was declared that, notwithſtanding the duties ordered to be paid by that act, all ſhips whatſoever ſhould give ſuch bonds as were required by 12, 22, and 23 C. II. and afterwards, in the fifteenth ſection of the ſame act, it is ordered that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations ſhall, on any pretence whatſoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unleſs the ſame has firſt been landed in England; and has paid the rates and duties with which they are chargeable by law. Thus was Ireland, while rendered incapable of making effectual remonſtrances by national imbecillity, conſequent on internal diſunion, avariciouſly excluded from the direct lucrative trade of the whole weſtern world. The excluſive trading companies of England had the effect of narrowing and ſhackling the commerce of Ireland with other parts; of obſtructing it completely with Aſia, and ſeconded by auxiliary ſtatutes, of contravening it with Africa.

It is true that before the happy period of Iriſh unanimity and ſtrength, there occurred a relaxation of the laws which impeded the commerce of Ireland with the weſtern world. But this incidental relaxation, viz. 4 G. II. c. 15, was little more than a mere illuſion; or perhaps reſolved on with the view of prolonging the weakneſs of Ireland; or in order to give a boon to the planters of the Weſt India iſlands at the expenſe of the Iriſh. By the act juſt alluded to, the people of Ireland obtained permiſſion to import directly from the plantations into their own country *all* goods, &c. of the growth, production, or manufacture of the ſaid plantations, except ſugars, tobacco, indigo, cotton, wool, molaſſes, ginger, pitch, tar, turpentine, maſts, yards and bowſprits, ſpeckle wood, Jamaica wood, fuſtick, or other dying woods, rice, beaver ſkins or other furs, or copper ore. In fact this generous permiſſion, to import directly from the plantations, may be conſidered as having been limited to rum; the eaſy introduction of which was equally calculated to give additional employment to the people of the Weſt Indies, and to circumſcribe the uſe of Iriſh ſpirits, the manufacture whereof was likely to prove, as it afterwards did prove, an effectual encouragement to agriculture, that paramount and imperiſhable ſource of wealth and ſtrength.

But

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But although Ireland was thus prohibited from trading with thoſe parts of the world, with which ſhe ſeems qualified, in a peculiar manner, by nature, to carry on a reciprocally beneficial interchange of commodities, yet ſhe poſſeſſed the means of driving an highly profitable trade with England; and eventually accumulating ſuch wealth as might have enabled her to purchaſe therein, to an immenſe annual amount, the monopolized commodities of the weſtern and eaſtern worlds. The wool of Ireland was remarkably fine. It far ſurpaſſed that of England. According to the evidence of Mr. Hone in 1784, as appears in the Iriſh Commons Journals, it ſold, about the beginning of the laſt century, for two ſhillings the pound. Even now, notwithſtanding the deterioration it has experienced, the wool of the native Iriſh ſheep ſells, in ſome parts of Ireland, for two and three ſhillings the ſtone more than the wool obtained from the Engliſh breeds of ſheep; breeds which, no doubt, are much leſs troubleſome, and in ſome reſpects more profitable, to the grazier than the former *; but which have not been found ſo healthy; and certainly are not preferable either for the table or the loom †.

To diſable the people of Ireland from excelling, or even vieing, with thoſe of England in the woollen manufacture, was one of the earlieſt efforts of that mercantile ſpirit which prevailed in England ſubſequent to the Reſtoration. Before that æra, indeed, the commercial intercourſe between England and Ireland appears to have been upon a fair and liberal footing. By the 3 Ed. IV. c. 4, woollens, laces, ribbands, gold and ſilver lace, ſaddlery, iron and hardware, gloves, leather manufactures, hats, &c. were prohibited to be imported into England. But this act contained the following liberal, amicable and wiſe proviſo in favour of Ireland: provided that all wares and chaffers made in the land of Ireland or Wales may be brought and ſold in this land of England, as they *were wont* to do before the making of this ſtatute, any act or ſtatute notwithſtanding. By the 1 R. III. c. 12. merchant ſtrangers were prohi-

* The wool in the counties of Clare and Kerry is ſtill of a very fine quality.

† The writer has learnt that the wool obtained from a breed of ſheep, lately introduced by the Marquis of Sligo, is of an incomparable quality. The effectual endeavours which that noble Lord has been in the habit of making, for a conſiderable ſeries of years, to improve the rural œconomy of Ireland, are ſingularly worthy of imitation; and merit a high degree of gratitude on the part of his countrymen.

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bited from bringing into England, for ſale, any of the following articles; viz. laces, leather manufactures, gloves, iron and hardware, painted glaſſes, painted papers, painted cloths and ſaddlery. In this act Ireland was not mentioned. And as in the former, viz. 3 Ed. IV. c. 4. containing a proviſo in favour of Ireland, no merchant ſtranger, denizen nor native, nor other perſon was allowed to bring in the prohibited articles, it may be preſumed that the act of Richard was not intended to affect Ireland. By 5 El. c. 7. all perſons whatſoever were prohibited from bringing into England, from parts beyond the ſeas, hardwares, ſaddlery, gloves, &c. This act was continued by 2 J. I. c. 25, 3 C. I. c. 4., and 16 C. I. c. 4. in none of which was Ireland mentioned; and therefore as the expreſſion, *parts beyond the ſeas*, may be ſo conſidered as not to imply Ireland, ſhe poſſibly was ſtill left to reap the benefits of the proviſo in the act of Edward, were ſhe in a capacity ſo to do. At all events, Ireland could ſtill import into England all manufactures of wool and ſilk, gold and ſilver lace, and hats; and continued to enjoy this permiſſion until it was completely fruſtrated by the 12 C. II. c. 4., which granted the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage. In the book of rates which accompanied that act, woollen cloths were rated at 8l. 10s. per yard; and conſequently were liable to a duty of 8s. 6d. per yard, without any reſervation for thoſe of Ireland. The other woollen fabricks were rated in proportion. Silk, gold and ſilver lace, and hats were rated ſo high as to ſtop their importation. The wool of Ireland, however, raw or manufactured, might ſtill be exported, with different proſpects of gain, to any other part of the world. The 12 C. II. c. 32. prohibited, it is true, the exportation of wool or fuller's-earth from England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. But this prohibition, if advantageous to England, was, with regard to wool, equally ſo to Ireland.

Such was the condition of Ireland, with reſpect to trade and manufactures, anterior to the Revolution. The 1 W. & M. c. 32. ſeemed to aim merely at augmenting the ſupply of the raw material of the woollen manufactures of England at the expenſe of thoſe of Ireland. Yet from the pains which were conſtantly taken to prevent the exportation of wool from England, and the facility with which its importation was permitted, in might be inferred, that the object of this act, which permitted the exportation of wool from certain ports in Ireland to certain others in England,

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ſand, was to ſerve the woollen manufactures of the latter at the expenſe of thoſe of the former. This reſtricted exportation appears, however, to have had the effect of inducing the Iriſh to apply, with unuſual aſſiduity, to their woollen manufactures. In conſequence thereof it was deemed expedient to embarraſs them; and accordingly by 9 & 10 W. III. c. 40, the exportation of fuller's-earth and ſcouring-clay to Ireland was prohibited under ſevere penalties *.

The progreſs of the Iriſh woollen manufactures, however, ſtill continuing to give increaſing inquietude to the monopolizers in England, the parliament, under the influence of manufacturers, reſolved to take deciſive meaſures to preclude all competition with England, on the part of Ireland, in foreign markets. Accordingly on the 9th June 1698, the Engliſh Lords preſented an addreſs to King William III. ſtating, "that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapneſs of all ſorts of neceſſaries of life, and *goodneſs of materials* for making *all manner of cloth*, doth invite his ſubjects of England with their families and ſervants to leave their habitations to ſettle there, to the increaſe of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal ſubjects, in this kingdom, very apprehenſive that the farther growth of it may greatly prejudice the ſaid manufacture here; and praying that His Majeſty would be pleaſed, in the moſt public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all his ſubjects of Ireland that the growth and increaſe of the woollen manufacture there hath long and will be ever looked upon with great jealouſy by all his ſubjects of this kingdom."

On the 30th of June, the Commons preſented a ſimilar addreſs; and His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, in anſwer, "Gentlemen, I will do all that in me lies to diſcourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

Theſe addreſſes were ſpeedily followed by an act, 10 & 11 W. III. c. 10, prohibiting the exportation of wool, yarn, new drapery, or old drapery from Ireland, to any other place but England, on pain of forfeiting ſhip and cargo, and 500l. for every offence; no acquital in Ireland being allowed to bar a proſecution in England. The permiſſion to export the woollen manufactures of Ireland to England was merely illuſive; the duties on importation into the latter being tantamount to a prohi-

* Since that time plenty of excellent fuller's-earth has been diſcovered in Ireland.

bition.

bition. Theſe duties, moreover, were ſeconded in their effect by a duty of four ſhillings in the pound *ad valorem*, impoſed by the Iriſh Parliament 10 W. III. c. 5, on all old drapery (frize excepted), and two ſhillings on all new drapery, exported from Ireland; "the better," as the obſequious Commons of Ireland obſerved, "to enable His Majeſty to provide for the future ſafety of his liege people."

By 1 A. c. 12. ſeſſ. 2. the Iriſh were enabled to export the neceſſary clothing and accoutrements of certain regiments belonging to the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, and cantoned in the Leeward Iſlands; but by 3 & 4 A. c. 8, no woollen manufacture whatſoever was to be imported into the plantations, but what had been taken on board in England, on pain of forfeiture. The 3 G. I. c. 8, and 5 G. I. c. 11, had for their common object the prevention of the export of wool or woollen manufactures from Ireland. Theſe, however, ſtill found their way to foreign countries: but the fact being detected by the vigilant monopolizers of England, three ſhips of war of the ſixth rate, and eight or more armed veſſels, were appointed by 5 G. II. c. 21, to cruiſe off the coaſt of Ireland and Great Britain, with orders to take and ſeize all veſſels loaded with any woollen manufactures from Ireland.

By all theſe *highly laudable* and wiſe expedients, the woollen manufacture of Ireland, which would have eclipſed that of England, at leaſt as the influenced parliament of that country apprehended, and which long ſtruggled with effect under difficulties, was at length almoſt completely annihilated, and the monopoly of England perfectly ſecured *; but whether for the ultimate advantage of His Majeſty's dominions, collectively taken, may reaſonably be queſtioned.

The eſtabliſhment of the different branches of the glaſs manufacture in Britain was of a much more recent date than that of the woollen. As ſoon as they began to afford conſiderable employment to the labouring part of the Engliſh community, and to yield ſuch profits to the undertakers as induced an augmentation of their number, and eventually diſpoſed the legiſlature to feel a ſolicitude for their intereſt, the ordinary deſideratum of grudging avaricious traders was acceded to. The Legiſlature was eaſily deluded into a belief of the expediency of ſecuring a monopoly. And a monopoly at the expenſe of Ireland was accordingly reſolved on.

* See table N° IX. in the Appendix.

By

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By 19 G. II. c. 12, the importation of glaſs into Ireland, from any place but Britain, and the exportation of glaſs from Ireland to any place whatſoever, were prohibited, on pain of forfeiture of ſhip and cargo, and a penalty of ten ſhillings for every pound weight of glaſs put on board, or on ſhore, on the maſter and every perſon aiding and aſſiſting therein. Had it not been for this violent and unwarrantable act, patiently acquieſced in by the ſubordinate and mercenary parliament of Ireland, it is not unlikely that Ireland would have ſurpaſſed and underſold Britain in the glaſs manufacture, as it certainly would have done in the woollen; for, in reſpect of all the raw materials taken together, the former was as favourably circumſtanced as the latter; in reſpect of the principal ingredient of the crown-glaſs manufacture (kelp) much more ſo*; and in reſpect of cheapneſs of labour it alſo had the advantage. In fact, the glaſs manufactured in Waterford, a few years after the Iriſh Parliament was compelled by a united people to purſue their welfare, equalled, if not excelled, any of the ſame kind made in Britain, notwithſtanding the ſkill acquired in the latter by long practice.

The monopoly given to Britiſh hop-merchants was another evidence of the unlimited influence of the mercantile ſpirit in England. Doubts having ariſen, as ſtated in 5 G. II. c. 9, whether hops were among the articles which might be imported into Ireland from the plantations, under 4 G. II. c. 15. it was declared by the former act that they were not, nor to be imported into Ireland from any other place but Great Britain; from whence, by the way, there was a duty on exportation of three-pence per pound, over and above all other duties, cuſtoms, and ſubſidies, as ſettled and made perpetual by 1 G. I. ſeſ. 2. c. 12. ſ. 5.; and, in order to perfect the monopoly, it was enacted, by 7 G. II. c. 19. that all hops landed in Great Britain or Ireland, except Britiſh hops in the latter, ſhould be burned, and the ſhip forfeited. The almoſt total want of timber in Ireland, occaſioned by the improvident and unreſtricted uſe of it in the iron-works, about the cloſe of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries; and the conſequent diſpoſition, among the lower people, to pilfer ſuch as might be

* It appeared, as before noticed, by the evidence of Mr. Hurſt, before the Committee of the Privy-Council in 1785, that kelp, the moſt material ingredient in the crown-glaſs manufacture of England, was ſupplied by Ireland.

left in the fields, and happened to be ſuitable to any of their exigencies, rendered it rather hazardous to employ any part of a capital in the cultivation of hops, which, moreover, were rather too uncertain a crop for the ſmall capitaliſts who engaged in farming in Ireland. The Iriſh therefore were left, for one of what may be called the neceſſaries of life, entirely in the hands of the hop-merchants of Britain; and, partly on account of the uncertainty of the crops there, obliged to pay much more for that neceſſary article than they could, one year with another, have purchaſed it for in other countries. "To prohibit," ſays Adam Smith, "a great nation from making all that they can of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is *a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind**."

Under the paralyſing influence of the mercantile ſpirit, the legiſlature of Britain really treated the people of Ireland, unprotected as they were by an independent parliament, or rather wantonly and treacherouſly expoſed to ill treatment by a dependent and mercenary one, much worſe than that legiſlature did, or could have treated the people of any of thoſe countries with which, in the viciſſitudes of politicks, it might frequently be engaged in war. In other words, it imprudently injured thoſe who were deſtined to ſecond it in its wars, much more than thoſe who were likely to become its antagoniſts. The meaſures already noticed ſhew the truth of theſe aſſertions. The following ſchedule of duties will confirm them:

1784.

Duties payable in Great Britain on the importation of the following goods (not French):	£	s.	d.	20ths.	Duties in Ireland on Britiſh goods imported.	£	s.	d.	20ths.
All manner of woollen cloths, the yard, - -	2	0	6	4	Old drapery -	0	0	5	19 7/16
Stuff made or mixed with wool, ditto - -	0	5	11	10	New ditto - -	0	0	1	19 9/16
Sugar refined, the cwt.	5	6	9	19 1/12	- - -	1	13	11	13 15/16
Beer and ale, the barrel, 32 gallons - -	0	1	5	17 1/2	- - -	0	1	2	18 11/16
and beſides, if valued at 20s. per barrel - -	0	5	11	10					
Spirits, ſingle (not of Britiſh plantations), the gallon	0	3	0	18 1/2	- -	0	2	3	——

* Vol. ii. p. 86.

Cotton

	£.	s.	d.	20ths.		£.	s.	d.	20ths.
Cotton manufactures unrated, not brought from the East Indies, for every 100l. on oath	29	15	10	——	- - -	9	18	5	8
and besides, for every 100l. value, gross price, at the candle	17	17	6	——					
Linen and cotton mixed, for every 100l. value on oath,	29	15	10	——	- - -	9	18	5	8
Linen cloth, white or brown, *Irish*, free									
Ditto, printed, &c. for every 100l. value on oath	65	10	10	——	- - -	9	18	5	8
Silk stockings prohibited.					- - -	0	3	11	$12\frac{14}{15}$
Stockings, cotton or thread, the dozen pair	0	12	6	——	every 100l. value on oath	9	18	5	8
and besides, if cotton, for every 100l. gross price, at the candle	17	17	6	——					
Wrought silks prohibited.					- - lb.	0	7	5	$2\frac{9}{10}$
Hops, the cwt.	6	8	8	8	- - -	1	0	8	$12\frac{4}{5}$
Leather manufactures unrated, for every 100l. value on oath	65	10	10	——	- - -	9	18	5	8
Gloves of silk or leather prohibited.					dozen pair - -	0	2	11	$14\frac{11}{20}$
Chip hats, the dozen, medium between large and small	0	4	10	$1\frac{7}{8}$	every 100l. value on oath	9	18	5	8
Candles of tallow, the cwt.	1	9	8	$10\frac{14}{15}$	- - -	0	5	6	$13\frac{147}{150}$
Starch, ditto	4	12	1	$17\frac{1}{3}$	- - -	0	6	5	$12\frac{8}{23}$
Soap, ditto	2	7	8	——	- - -	0	5	11	$1\frac{7}{23}$
Checks, the piece, not above 10 yards	0	3	11	$13\frac{1}{3}$	- - -	0	1	3	$17\frac{73}{150}$
and besides, for every 100l. value on oath	35	15	0	——					
Bed-ticks not rated, for every 100l. value on oath	29	15	10	——	- - -	9	15	8	8*

The heavy duties in the first column, imposed by the British Parliament, placed Ireland on a level with other unfavoured countries; the moderate

* Irish money. Commons Journals, Vol. ii. p. 140, Appendix.

ones in the ſecond, impoſed by the complaiſant Parliament of Ireland, gave an advantage in the Iriſh market to the Engliſh manufactures, which they, of all others, leaſt deſerved. The gloves, the tabbinets, and the ſilk handkerchiefs of Ireland, all of which might have become valuable manufactures, were ſelfiſhly excluded from the Britiſh market; and yet they have never ſince been equalled in Britain. This was puſhing commercial envy to a moſt inexcuſable, extravagant, unprofitable length.

But the merchants and manufacturers of England were not the only deſcriptions of people who obſtructed the welfare of Ireland under the impulſe of ſelfiſh conſiderations; the landholders alſo concurred in the impolitick purſuit.

The exportation of lean oxen and cows from an inſular country to any other, ſituated at a greater diſtance from it than 30 or 40 leagues, and poſſeſſing a ſufficiency for the uſe of its inhabitants, can never be attended with ſufficient profit to induce the continuance of the practice. England was the only country lying near enough to Ireland to prompt the people of the latter to get rid of their redundant ſtock thus; and even in that country, in conſequence of there being then no want of cattle, thoſe of the Iriſh yielded very trivial profits, notwithſtanding the proximity of the iſlands. Yet, from this ſpecies of traffick too, the traffick, generally ſpeaking, of a poor and depopulated country, it was deemed expedient to exclude the people of Ireland. Accordingly, by 15 C. II. c. 7, the importation of black cattle and ſheep was loaded with a heavy duty; by 18 C. II. c. 2, the importation of great cattle, ſheep, and ſwine, beef, pork, and bacon from Ireland was declared a common nuiſance, and forbid, on pain of forfeiture; and by 32 C. II. c. 2, forfeiture was extended to mutton, lamb, butter, and cheeſe, and made perpetual: ſo much of the act, however, as related to bacon, was repealed by 5 & 6 W. and M. c. 2.

The redundance of lean ſtock in Ireland, occaſioned by this prohibition, had the effect of lowering their price, and, eventually, that of fat cattle, ſo much as to give riſe to a briſk foreign demand for Iriſh ſalted proviſions; and Ireland ſoon became the principal country in Europe from whence butcher's meat was exported. But butcher's meat, unleſs exported to a country ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, in reſpect of wealth and demand, as England has of late years been, will ſeldom fetch ſuch a price as to enable the grazier in the exporting country to pay a high rent for the land

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land he holds. Accordingly the rent of land in Ireland was formerly very low *. When it began to riſe in conſequence of the conjunct operation of other cauſes, the exportation of the produce of paſture would generally have declined, had it not been for the growing and effectual demands of ſuch a wealthy country as England. The proviſions which Ireland has of late years exported to other countries, have been of very little value in compariſon of thoſe which it has exported to England. The value of the beef exported from Ireland, on an average of three years, ending 25th March 1799, was - - - - £424,534

Of this ſum Britain paid - - -	343,272
Other countries the remainder, viz. - -	81,262
The value of the butter exported ſame time was -	949,266
Of this ſum Britain paid - - -	739,544
Other countries the remainder, viz. - -	209,722

The value of the cows, oxen, and ſheep exported ſame time was 122,822 the whole of which was paid by Great Britain. The total paid by Great Britain for the foregoing articles was 1,205,6381.; the total paid by other countries was 290,9841.; ſo that the former purchaſed upwards of four times more of the butcher's meat and butter exported from Ireland than the latter.

Not ſtopping with the gratification of the landholders of England, by prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle and proviſions, the Britiſh government was frequently, and at a late period, inveigled into gratifying the avariee of a few contractors, by laying embargoes on the exportation of Iriſh proviſions, for the oſtenſible purpoſe of preventing the enemies of Britain from being ſupplied therewith; but really for the ſole benefit of the contractors, who thus became the only purchaſers.

* The Buttevant eſtate, purchaſed by Mr. Anderſon, of Fermoy, from the Earl of Barrymore, and containing 2700 Engliſh acres of very rich land, formerly paſture, was let in the year 1706 for 180l. a-year. The leaſe expired in 1805, and the land will now let for upwards of 4000l. a-year.

Theſe

Theſe diſcouragements would naturally have urged the Iriſh to forſake paſture and purſue tillage, had the latter afforded them a better proſpect of gain. But firſt, the corn-laws of England laying heavy duties on the importation of corn, unleſs when it roſe to an unuſually high price, prevented them from ſending the produce of their tillage thither. Secondly, the want of certain and liberal bounties on the general exportation of corn from Ireland, diſcouraged the merchants from engaging therein. Thirdly, the unobſtructed influx of corn from England, under the operation of the Engliſh bounties on export, tended, during plentiful years in England, to keep down its price in Ireland, and thereby to diſcourage the farmers. Fourthly, the landlords of Ireland, for a long time, reſtrained their tenants from ploughing. And fifthly, although the labouring poor of Ireland, who ſubſiſted chiefly on potatoes, increaſed conſiderably, there was no ſuch increaſe of thoſe different claſſes of people by whom bread is ordinarily conſumed. A great portion of the gentry, with their families, reſided in England *, and, except the northern weavers, there were ſcarcely any manufacturers in Ireland. In ſhort the Iriſh corn could not reach foreign markets with a proſpect of reaſonable gain; nor had it a ſufficient market at home. There exiſted therefore no encouragement to embark in the expenſes and trouble of tillage, and abandon the lazy life of the grazier.

And here it may be obſerved, that although Ireland gained by her general trade, before the middle of the laſt century, ſhe loſt by her trade with Britain; that about the year 1727, the Engliſh took from Ireland generally between 200,000 and 300,000 ſtones of wool, yarn and worſted, worth 130,000l., which when worked up was worth 500,000l., and alſo linen yarn worth upwards of 90,000l. which when further manufactured was worth 200,000l.; in other words, that England ſecured to her own manufactures 480,000l. a-year on two

* About the commencement of the reign of George the Second, the Iriſh abſentees reſiding in England were numerous beyond precedent; compriſing many whoſe abſence ſeemed utterly unallowable: ſuch for inſtance as officers of the Poſt-office, whoſe ſalaries amounted to 6,000l. a year, the Maſter of the Ordnance, Maſter of the Rolls, Lord Treaſurer and Vice-Treaſurers, four commiſſioners of the Revenue, the Secretary of State, the Lord Lieutenant's ſecretary, the clerk of the crown for Leinſter, Ulſter, and Munſter, and even the Maſter of Revels, &c.

articles

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articles of the nature of raw materials, one of which at leaſt ſhe prevented the people of Ireland from working up by narrowing their markets. That while ſhe imported theſe articles and other raw materials to a conſiderable amount, ſuch as hides and tallow, from Ireland, all the articles which ſhe ſent thither were worked up to the utmoſt.

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SECTION III.

Iriſh Acts favourable to Britiſh Merchandize.

WHILE Britain was thus vigilantly engaged in perpetual hoſtility againſt the commerce of Ireland, retaliation, or at leaſt counteraction, might naturally have been expected on the part of the latter. The fact, however, was far otherwiſe. Inſtead of remonſtrating loudly againſt this cruel oppreſſion; inſtead of ſedulouſly employing all the means which could be reſorted to for the purpoſe of defeating its effects; the parliament of Ireland appear to have patiently acquieſced, and not only acquieſced, but in ſome degree concurred therein. It was choſen, as before noticed, for the life of the reigning prince *, by that ſmall number of perſons among the Iriſh people who were qualified to vote †. Two-thirds of the people had no influence whatſoever over its deciſions. It in fact repreſented about ſeven hundred thouſand people, intermixed with about thirteen hundred thouſand, with whom they co-exiſted in a ſtate of ſmothered warfare. It was actuated by an apparently falſe perſuaſion of the neceſſity of keeping the Roman Catholics in a ſtate of debilitation; and by a true perſuaſion of the neceſſity of yielding to whatever meaſures were conſidered as conducive to the proſperity of Britain, on whoſe ſupport alone it relied for protection againſt the majority of the Iriſh people, whom its partial and rigorous laws had alienated and diſpoſed to hoſtility.

The firſt legiſlative procedure which evinced an unpatriotic obſequiouſneſs on the part of the Parliament of Ireland to the views of that of Bri-

* By 7 G. III. c. 3, the duration of parliaments in Ireland was limited to eight years, with the view, as the act ſays, of ſtrengthening the harmony and good agreement ſubſiſting between His Majeſty and his people of Ireland, and being productive of other good effects to His Majeſty's ſubjects.

† According to a return preſented to the Houſe of Lords in 1731, the population of Ireland conſiſted then of 700,451 proteſtants, and 1,390,770 Roman Catholics.

tain,

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tain, was the anſwer of the Commons to the ſpeech of the Lords Juſtices in 1698, on the ſubject of eſtabliſhing the linen and ſuppreſſing the woollen manufacture. They aſſure their excellencies that they will heartily endeavour to eſtabliſh the linen and hempen manufacture in Ireland, and that they hope to find ſuch a temperament in reſpect to the woollen trade, that the ſame may not be injurious to England. This anſwer, which ſeems to betray a certain degree of reluctance to ſacrifice the valuable and promiſing woollen manufacture of Ireland *, was ſoon followed by the act (10 W. III. c. 5.) before noticed, impoſing a duty of four ſhillings in the pound, *ad valorem*, on all old drapery (frize excepted,) and two ſhillings on all new drapery exported from Ireland.

By the compact of 1698, Ireland appeared to be veſted with a diſcretionary power to protect and promote the linen manufacture in whatever manner might ſeem beſt. But far from employing that power to injure the rival manufacture of linen in England, thus following the example of the legiſlature of the latter, in the caſe of the woollen manufacture, it was not employed even as far as a ſubordinate legiſlature could, and was authoriſed to employ it. The Iriſh woollens were excluded, by heavy duties, from the Britiſh market; but the Britiſh linens ſoon met with no obſtruction in their progreſs to the market of Ireland. By 2 A. c. 4. an additional duty of 6d. per yard was impoſed on all linens imported; and this duty was continued by ſeveral ſucceſſive acts during the ſame reign. In the year 1717, however, or about 19 years after the compact, Britiſh linens were, by 4 G. I. c. 6. exempted from all duties on importation into Ireland ſo long as the Iriſh were permitted to export their linens directly to the plantations, as were Britiſh cambricks, lawns, linen painted or ſtained in England, and towelling, by 17 G. II. c. 1, 19 G. II. c. 2, 19 G. II. c. 6, 11 & 12 G. III. c. 1, which impoſed duties on theſe different articles imported from other countries. So that Ireland was obliged to admit an apparently dangerous rival into her home-market, which England would never conſent to do with regard to her woollens, in order to ſecure a convenient foreign

* The woollens annually exported, about the year 1677, were worth 70,000l. and the balance of trade was then 400,000l. in favour of Ireland. In the year 1700, after the reſtriction of her woollen trade, the balance in her favour amounted to 22,272l. only.

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market for her linen manufactures, the ſale whereof Britain was bound to promote, in conſideration of the ſurrender which the Iriſh had made of their valuable woollen manufacture. The varied encouragement, however, which the Iriſh legiſlature gave to the linen manufacture, and which the Britiſh government could not, without a moſt flagrant outrage of the principles of honor and juſtice, prevent, had the twofold effect of rendering this rivalry almoſt entirely harmleſs, and the linen manufacture ſteadily and rapidly progreſſive.

Of the different meaſures adopted by the Iriſh legiſlature, to promote the linen manufacture, ſome ſlight notice muſt here be taken; not becauſe they were the moſt prudent that might have been deviſed; but becauſe the manufacture flouriſhed under their operation; and becauſe they were almoſt the only ones which reſcue that legiſlature from the charge of having, until near the cloſe of the laſt century, totally neglected the welfare of Ireland.—But before theſe meaſures be noticed, it is proper to obſerve, in conformity with the drift of the preſent ſection, that the Iriſh legiſlature, after permitting the rivalry of the Britiſh linen and cambrick manufacturers, patiently, and without remonſtrance, ſubmitted to a ſignal violation of the compact, on the part of England, in the inſtance of ſail-cloth.

In order to promote the foreign ſale of this manufacture, which ſeemed likely to proſper exceedingly, the parliament of Ireland in the 19th year of George II. granted bounties on the exportation thereof, of two-pence per yard, if of the value of ten-pence, and under fourteen-pence, and four-pence per yard, if above fourteen-pence. Theſe bounties were ſoon counteracted by import duties, to the ſame amount, impoſed in Britain by 23 G. II. c. 33, the preamble to the act ſtating, "that large bounties having been granted by the parliament of Ireland on ſail-cloth of the manufacture of that kingdom, which hath encouraged the importation of conſiderable quantities thereof into Great Britain, and may tend to the prejudice of that manufacture therein, &c." Thus was the Iriſh ſail-cloth manufacturer denied the advantage of one of the beſt markets he could find for the produce of his induſtry; and the Engliſh ſhip-owner, in a great degree, ſubjected to the monopoly of his countrymen, whoſe ſail-cloth neither was, nor is ſo good and durable as that manufactured in Ireland. This proceeding was afterwards followed by a bounty on ſail-cloth,

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cloth exported to Ireland. It is true that in the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of England to King William, the linen manufacture alone is mentioned; but in the ſpeech of the Lords Juſtices to the parliament of Ireland, the linen and hempen manufactures are coupled together; and it was always underſtood that, being analogous, the Iriſh and Engliſh legiſlatures were bound to give them equal encouragement, in compenſation for the ſurrender of the woollen *. Indeed the titles of the ſucceſſive acts of the Iriſh parliament, concerning the linen manufacture, afford ſufficient evidence of the prevalence of this opinion. In all theſe titles the hempen is conjoined with the flaxen manufacture.

It appears by different ſtatutes, of old date, that the people of Ireland had been, for many years anterior to the Revolution, in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable trade in linens, as well as woollens. The Earl of Strafford in the reign of Charles the Firſt, gave much encouragement to the former. It did not, however, become the principal, or rather the only object of legiſlative ſolicitude, in behalf of manufacturing induſtry, before the reign of Anne; although an act paſſed in that of Charles the Second which ſeemed to evince a ſtrong inclination, on the part of the legiſlature, to promote it. By this act, viz. 17 & 18 C. II. c. 9, the ſum of 20l. was directed to be levied by the grand juries in every county, except thoſe of Dublin and Kerry, at each Lent aſſizes, for 20 years, and diſtributed in premiums of 10l. for the beſt, 6l. for the ſecond beſt, and 4l. for the third beſt piece of linen, 30 ells long, and one broad, ſubmitted to their inſpection. By the ſame act, the ſum of 6,000l., levied by the parliament on the kingdom at large, was to be applied to purchaſe, in each province, one bleach yard, containing four plantation acres, and to erect a wall round it, and ſuitable buildings. It likewiſe ſubjected to a

* "Amongſt theſe bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures; at our firſt meeting we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and uſeful for that effect, and as ſuch we now recommend it to you. The ſettlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the ſettled ſtaple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are ſupplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpoſe: *whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as conſiſtent with the trade of England; but will render the trade of this kingdom both uſeful and neceſſary to England.*"

Extract from the Lords Juſtices Speech, Sept. 27, 1698.

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penalty of 40s. every landlord who ſhould let a cottage or cabin, not within a city, ſuburbs or walled town, to any perſon not holding one plantation acre of land, and covenanting to ſow one-eighth thereof with flax or hemp, and to a penalty of 10s. every tenant who ſhould neglect to do ſo. It alſo ſubjected to an annual penalty of 5l. every perſon who ſhould plough 30 acres of land without ſowing half an acre with flax or hemp, and to an annual penalty of 3l. every perſon who ſhould plough leſs without doing the ſame.

In the reign of King William, there did not paſs a ſingle act for the encouragement of the linen manufacture in Ireland; although His Majeſty promiſed his Commons of England to do all that in him lay to diſcourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture there.

The fourth year of Queen Anne was that in which the Iriſh legiſlature began to manifeſt an unremitting ſolicitude for the ſucceſs of the linen manufacture. From that year to the nineteenth of George the Second, there paſſed no fewer than 14 acts, having for their common objects its encouragement and regulation; which was a greater number than had paſſed, ſince the Revolution, for the encouragement of all other ſorts of trade and manufactures put together. Theſe acts were all reviſed, their uſeleſs or inexpedient clauſes, proviſos, &c. expunged, their beneficial and effectual ones retained and conſolidated into one act, viz. 19 G. II. c. 6. which was followed by a ſucceſſion of others ſuggeſted by different emergencies and accompanied by bounties, &c.

An examination of theſe acts and theſe bounties, with the view of diſcovering how far the former were well deviſed, and how far the latter were likely to be faithfully and effectually applied, would be equally ſuperfluous and tedious. It will ſuffice to ſay, with regard to the latter, that, according to the accounts preſented to parliament, there was diſburſed, by the truſtees of the linen and hempen manufactures, from the 25th March 1712, to the ſame day in 1783, no leſs a ſum than 888,813l. and that the money unaccounted for, or not properly accounted for, to theſe truſtees by the ſecretaries of the linen board, in four years ended in 1780, amounted to 36,709l.*; with regard to the former, it is enough to obſerve, that, however

* The actual annual grant to the truſtees of the linen and hempen manufacture is 21,600l. beſides appropriated duties; making in the whole about 24,000l. a ſum which might

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however they might have failed in bringing the linen manufacture to its utmoſt perfection, and in precluding thoſe frauds and injurious practices, originating in avarice, which tended to bring it frequently into diſrepute in foreign markets, they had the effect of rendering it ultimately a ſource of prodigious wealth. So that the province of Ulſter, in which chiefly it is ſtill carried on †, ſeems likely to fufil the following prediction, hazarded by Sir John Davies in compliment to King James the Firſt: "When this plantation (that of the Britiſh proteſtants in the province of Ulſter) hath taken root and bin fixed and ſetled but a few yeares with the favour and bleſſing of God, it will ſecure the peace of Ireland, aſſure it to the crown of England for ever; and finally make it a civill and a rich, a mighty and a flouriſhing Kingdome ‡".

The table, marked No. VII. in the Appendix, is ſufficiently comprehenſive to convey an adequate idea of the progreſs of this valuable manufacture; the protection whereof is almoſt the only ſervice of the Iriſh parliament anterior to 1778, which can reſcue it from the imputation of having abandoned the commercial welfare of Ireland.

By this table it plainly appears that the linen manufacture of Ireland has thriven exceedingly, although its rival manufacture in Britain was not only not ſuppreſſed, but freely admitted as a competitor in the Iriſh market. It has thriven much more than the cheriſhed and boaſted woollen manufacture of England; for, according to Mr. Chalmers, the value of the woollens exported from England, on an average of the years 1699-1700-1701, was 2,561,615l., on an average of the years 1769-70-71, 4,323,463l.,

might be expended with much better ultimate effect in improving the ſyſtem of huſbandry in Ireland. And, in truth, if the farmers, in their turn, do not experience the bounty of government, they will have abundant reaſon to complain. But they are, for the moſt part, *Papiſts* forſooth; and the weavers are moſtly proteſtants. When ſhall we ſee an end of this political fatuity, to ſpeak of it in the mildeſt terms? The linen manufacture, valuable as it is, has certainly been bolſtered up long enough. It is high time that the great manufacture of the land ſhould be attended to. To give about 20 times more to the former than to the latter * cannot be juſtified; but the converſe eaſily might.

† The immunities enjoyed excluſively by proteſtant weavers, wheel-makers, flax-dreſſers, and others under 19 G. II. c. 6. probably contributed to confine the linen manufacture in a great degree to the province of Ulſter; where the proteſtants of the lower claſs were much more numerous in proportion to the Roman Catholics than in the other provinces.

‡ Hiſt. Tracts, p. 192.

* See Reports of the Commiſſioners of Account.

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and on an average of the years 1790-1-2, 5,056,733l. *: and according to the accounts preſented to parliament immediately previous to the Union, the value thereof, on an average of three years ended in 1799, was 7,771,808l. Whereas the quantity of linen annually exported from Ireland, during the period ended in 1712, was 1,439,833 yards, and that exported during the period ended in 1792 was 37,663,748 yards. So that the export of woollens from England was little more than trebled in about 100 years; but the export of linens from Ireland was nearly thrice trebled in a period of 70 years. Why the Engliſh woollen manufacture could not have thriven as much as it has done, in the event of its rival manufacture in Ireland being ſuffered to flouriſh, and to enter the Britiſh market as freely as the people of Ireland were compelled to let the linens of Britain enter their market, is a queſtion whereof the deciſion muſt be left to the ingenuity of monopolizers. That it did thrive, notwithſtanding the rivalry of France, ſtrengthened inconſiderately by the repreſſion of that of Ireland, is a fact which will be found to embarraſs the deciſion of this queſtion not a little †.

By the compact of 1698, the people of Ireland did unqueſtionably acquire a right to adopt, if they thought proper, for the encouragement of their linen manufacture, the very ſame expedients which England might adopt for the encouragement of her woollens. They had as good a right to demand the abolition of rivalry on the part of England in the caſe of the linen, as England had to preclude imperiouſly all rivalry, on that of Ireland, in the caſe of the woollen manufactures. But the exerciſe of any right on the part of Ireland, which, even in ſpeculation, was likely to prove in the leaſt degree prejudicial to the moſt trivial manufacture of England, was utterly inconſiſtent with that illiberal and impolitic ſyſtem which the latter purſued with regard to the former; and in which the Iriſh parliament baſely concurred: a ſyſtem conſtituted of acts completely obſtructive of every ſpecies of Iriſh competition in the Engliſh market; reſtrictive of almoſt every ſpecies of mercantile and manufacturing induſtry in Ireland; and corroborative of that Engliſh competition, in the Iriſh market, which tended to foſter every infant manufacture of England, and to

* Eſtimate of the Strength of Great Britain, p. 208.

† It it well known that the woollen manufactures of France were eſſentially ſerved by the clandeſtine importation of Iriſh wool.

overwhelm

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overwhelm every ſimilar one in Ireland. Whenever any manufacture or branch of induſtry in England was thought to require encouragement, the Iriſh parliament readily impoſed duties on ſimilar ones from other countries, admitting thoſe from Britain duty free. Whenever the exigencies of the Iriſh government required the impoſition of duties on merchandize imported, the Britiſh were uniformly exempted. And whenever an infant manufacture in Ireland ſeemed likely to rival a ſimilar one in Britain, the ſame practice was purſued; thus opening a field for the uſual efficacy of ſuperior Britiſh capitals in overpowering the unaided induſtry of Ireland.

The exemption of Britiſh cambricks, lawns, muſlins, towelling, painted and ſtained linens, from the import duties occaſionally impoſed on theſe articles, has already been noticed, and alſo the patient conduct of the Iriſh Parliament with regard to the glaſs manufacture, hops, &c. Among the other acts of that legiſlature, in conformity with the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, were the following ones, viz. 3 G. II. c. 2, which impoſed duties on all ſilk manufactures except thoſe of Great Britain, or the Eaſt Indies—11 G. II. c. 1, which impoſed duties on ſtuffs called Romals and on all cotton manufactures except Britiſh—21 G. II. c. 1, which prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace except Britiſh—23 G. II. c. 2, which impoſed duties on all velvets except Britiſh—33 G. II. c. 1, which impoſed a duty on all paper except Britiſh—13 & 14 G. III. c. 2, which impoſed a duty of 5l. per cent. on various goods and manufactures not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain—11 & 12 G. III. c. 1, which impoſed a duty on all herrings except Britiſh, and 15 & 16 G. III. c. 3, which impoſed a duty of two ſhillings the barrel on wheat, when the price at home did not exceed 26 ſhillings, and one ſhilling the cwt. of flour imported, except Britiſh. To this might be added 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19, which admitted the wheat of Britain into the Iriſh market, under a duty of two-pence the barrel, and flour under a duty of two-pence the cwt. when wheat, imported from other countries, was liable to a duty of 10s. the barrel, and other grains in proportion.

At the time of paſſing the act, which exempted from duty the ſilk manufactures of Great Britain, there were, according to the evidence given before the Iriſh parliament in 1784, 800 ſilk looms at work in Ireland. Thirty-ſix years after there were but 50: and thus 3,000 perſons were driven

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driven to beggary or emigration. In conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of the ſilk warehouſe, which ſeems as attributable to an anxiety to preclude the alarming diſturbances which frequently happened among the ſtarving ſilk manufacturers in Dublin, as to any other cauſe, 1,528 broad ſilk looms, 1,171 ribbon looms and 79 engines were at one time employed; and ſupported 11,270 perſons; the value of whoſe labour was computed to amount to 140,000l. a year. But the increaſed importation of ſilk manufactures from England had thrown out of employment 780 looms in in 1783; and thus deprived 3,120 perſons of their uſual means of ſupport.

At the time of paſſing the act which exempted Britiſh cottons from duty, viz. the year 1737, the cotton manufacture of Great Britain was in its infancy; the quantity of cotton wool imported having been, on an average of five years with 1720, only 2,173,287; and in 46 years after, viz. in the year 1783, no more than 11,000,000lbs. which, by the way, was greatly under three times as much as the cotton, wool and yarn imported, in the year ended in 1808, into Ireland, which ſtill imports cotton manufactures to a conſiderable amount *; and cannot as yet be regarded as deriving an augmentation of wealth from the exportation thereof. This exemption would probably have had the effect of preventing the cotton manufacture from thriving in Ireland, even if the Iriſh had been permitted to import the raw material directly from the place of its growth; but this permiſſion they did not enjoy before the year 1779. The ſmall amount of the collected duties on ſilk, cotton, and paper proves that the duties impoſed on theſe articles were ſufficient to give a deciſive advantage to Britiſh over foreign induſtry, in the Iriſh market. The total amount of the duty on ſilk manufactures from the year 1732 to 1783 incluſive, was only 7,105l. 19s. 7d. the total amount of the old additional duty on cottons and romals, from 1738 to 1789, was only 3,574l. 8s. and the total amount of the duty on paper, from 1761 to 1789, was 17,058l. 16s. 1d.

In ſhort, almoſt all the acts affecting the trade and manufactures of Ireland, which paſſed in the Britiſh and Iriſh parliaments, anterior to 1779,

* See table marked IX in the Appendix.

except

except thoſe, in the latter, which related to the linen manufacture, will be be found to aim at promoting the commercial welfare of Britain, excluſively; at reſtricting the trade, and ſuppreſſing the manufactures of Ireland; or at precluding all commercial reciprocity between the two countries.

Even after the Iriſh, by a bold exertion of national ſpirit, had obtained a free trade, and eſtabliſhed the legiſlative independence of their country, ſubſerviency to the ſelfiſh commercial views of Britain ſtill diſtinguiſhed the conduct of the Iriſh parliament; for with the ſchedule of unfair duties, already noticed, before their eyes, they negatived, by a majority of 94 to 32, the following amendment propoſed to be made, on the 11th May 1784, to a reſolution for an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant for his wiſe and juſt adminiſtration: "And to entreat His Excellency to take into his ſerious conſideration the diſtreſſed ſtate of the manufactures of this country, and to aſſure him of the confidence we place in his wiſdom to lay the ſame fully before His Majeſty's miniſters in England, and to co-operate with them in forming a more liberal arrangement of commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland on the broad baſis of reciprocal advantage; a meaſure which would doubtleſs tend to the mutual proſperity of both kingdoms by more cloſely uniting them in intereſt and affection." The effects of this conduct ſtill continue; no manufacture but that of linen ſtanding conſpicuous among the Iriſh exports.

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SECTION IV.

Iriſh Acts of an illuſive and inefficacious Nature, profeſſing to aim at the Attainment of public Benefits.

THROUGHOUT the greater part of the laſt century, as was before obſerved, the Parliament of Ireland was not merely regardleſs of the welfare of two-thirds of the Iriſh community, but may fairly be conſidered as in a ſtate of hoſtility with them. The remaining third was too inſufficient, in point of numeral ſtrength, compared with the population of the empire, to excite any great degree of legiſlative ſolicitude in its behalf. Beſides the excluſive diſtribution of all honours and offices among the individuals who conſtituted this minority of the Iriſh people, the habitual connivance at thoſe public jobs, peculations, and other fraudulent practices in which they alone were engaged, the rigorous laws which were paſſed to quiet their induſtriouſly revived apprehenſions with regard to the enterprizes of their compatriot enemies, and the illuſive acts which are to be conſidered in this ſection, had conjointly the effect of preventing thoſe murmurs which might otherwiſe have broken forth. The credulous and unthinking many were for a long time taught to confide in the patriotiſm and prudence of the parliament, by the ſharp-ſighted few who were bribed to deceive them, and intereſted in ſo doing.

Of the acts in queſtion, thoſe which profeſſed to aim at the encouragement of tillage in Ireland ſeem particularly worthy of attention, not only on account of the paramount importance of that purſuit, but becauſe they will be found to furniſh indiſputable evidence of the truth of this aſſertion, that, notwithſtanding appearances, the real welfare of Ireland was far from being the governing principle of the Iriſh legiſlature, ſo long as it continued in a ſtate of ſubordination to that of Great Britain, and ſubject to the controul of the privy council of the latter, as well as that of its own, the creature and coadjutor thereof *.

* The reader will find the whole corn-trade of Ireland, ſince the beginning of the laſt century, fully illuſtrated in the tables marked I. II. III. IV. in the Appendix.

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It is true that ſome of theſe acts, if compared with the reſt, will appear inadmiſſible among the illuſive acts of the Iriſh Parliament; but, if compared with thoſe extenſively beneficial acts which ſhall be conſidered in another ſection, the reader will, no doubt, concur in the propriety of their admiſſion into this. Beſides, by concentrating all the acts which effected the tillage of Ireland, antecedently to the time at which it began to be efficaciouſly encouraged, a more connected and ſatisfactory view will be afforded of that peculiarly important ſubject, than if theſe acts were brought under conſideration apart from each other, according to their reſpective ſhades of difference.

From the beginning of the laſt century till about the year 1732, the induſtry of the Iriſh appears to have been voluntarily directed to tillage, with a view to export, much more than it was ſubſequently to that year, and anterior to the year 1776, probably owing, in a great degree, to the then condition of its trade and manufactures, which was by no means ſuch as to afford ſufficient employment to the induſtrious and laborious part of the community. The woollen manufacture was rapidly declining under the repeated attacks of Britain; the linen manufacture was in its infancy; the manufacture of iron was loſt by the waſte of timber; the importation of cattle and proviſions into England had been declared a nuiſance; in ſhort, the Iriſh ſeemed neceſſitated to betake themſelves to tillage.

The average annual exceſs of corn and meal exported beyond that which was imported, during the period which ended in 1708, when the firſt tillage act began to operate, was, as appears by the table marked IV. in the Appendix, 48,248 barrels; whereas the ſmalleſt annual exceſs of corn and meal imported beyond that which was exported ſubſequently to 1732, and antecedently to 1776, was 11,824 barrels; the greateſt 255,567; and the average annual exceſs during 20 years, ended in 1764, 150,895 barrels.

The firſt act which paſſed in Ireland, purporting to be for the encouragement of tillage, was 6 A. c. 18 (year 1707). The preamble to this act ſays, "Foraſmuch as it hath been found by experience that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign parts, when the price thereof is at a low rate, hath been a great advantage, not only to the owners of the land, but to the trade of the kingdom in general; may it

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pleaſe Your Majeſty," &c. There is a ſlight degree of ambiguity in this preamble, from whence it might be inferred, that Ireland had already derived conſiderable benefit from the exportation of corn. The fact however is, as the references in the margin of the act ſhew, that the diſcovery was made in England, from whence, under the bounties of 1 W. & M. c. 12, there were exported annually, during a period of ſix years, ending with 1707, on an average, 289,304 *quarters* of all ſorts of corn, flour, and meal, beyond what was imported *, which was near four times as much as ever was exported from Ireland in any period antecedent to that which ended in 1788, when the liberal bounties of 1784 had begun to take effect. And yet, with the exception of two periods of five years each, it was the ſmalleſt, and, with the additional exception of a third period of four years, by far the ſmalleſt annual exceſs of exportation that had taken place from England from the firſt year of the laſt century till the concluſion of the period ending in 1764.

But that it was far from the intention of the Iriſh legiſlature, notwithſtanding the words of the preamble juſt cited, to employ in Ireland the experience obtained in England, will ſufficiently appear by a comparative view of the acts 1 W. & M. c. 12, and 6 A. c. 18. By the former of theſe acts the Engliſh obtained bounties of five ſhillings the quarter on wheat exported, when the price thereof was at or under 48 ſhillings, three ſhillings and ſixpence on rye when at or under 32 ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſixpence on malt when at or under 24 ſhillings. But by the latter the Iriſh obtained no more than one ſhilling and ſixpence the quarter on wheat, ground or unground, when the price was at or under *fourteen* ſhillings; one ſhilling on barley, bere, or malt, when at or under *ten* ſhillings; and one ſhilling on rye, ground or unground, when at or under *nine* ſhillings.

During a period of 22 years, ending with 1707, and commencing three years before the bounties were granted, the medium price of wheat in England, as drawn from the different periods in Mr. Chalmers's table, was 33s. 11½d. the quarter, or about 14 ſhillings below the exporting price. What price it bore in Ireland, about the time of paſſing the act beforementioned, the writer has not been able to aſcertain; but may ſafely venture to preſume, that it was not 20 ſhillings leſs than in England; and, conſe-

* Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 322.

quently,

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quently, that the Iriſh could not have the benefit of the proffered bounty, ſmall as it was; and, conſequently, that the act was merely illuſive *. The price of the ſtatute quarter of middling wheat in England, for 109 years, ending with 1794, does not appear to have reached 48 ſhillings, the exporting price, except during the four years which ended with 1711, when its average price was 49s. 9d. But there will be found very few periods, throughout the laſt century, during which the middle price of wheat in Ireland was ſo low as 14 ſhillings the quarter, the price at which the exporters were entitled to demand the bounty. During the 24 years which ſucceeded the paſſing of the act 6 A. c. 18, the quantity of barley and malt exported from Ireland was only 707,371 quarters, and that of wheat only 223,310 quarters. The former of theſe, if exported at or under ten ſhillings the quarter, would have been productive of a premium amounting to 35,368l. 11s.; the latter, at or under 14 ſhillings, a premium of 16,748l. 5s., making together 52,116l. 16s. Whereas the premiums paid on *all ſorts* of corn exported, between the years 1707 and 1732, amounted to no more, as appears by the returns to parliament, than 18,035l. 7s. 8d. or little more than one-third of the premium to which the barley, malt, and wheat alone would have been entitled, if exported at the preſcribed prices: a ſufficient proof that theſe prices were far from being the ordinary

* Sir William Petty, in his Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 314-15, ſays, the price of wheat in Ireland in 1641 was 12 ſhillings the *barrel*, and in 1652, 50 ſhillings. Mr. Rye, in a little tract on agriculture, publiſhed in 1730, calls 12 ſhillings the *barrel* of wheat, a *ſaving* price. Mr. Pierſon, in a little tract of the ſame nature, publiſhed the ſame year, conſiders 15 ſhillings the *barrel* as the middle price. In another little tract of Mr. Pierſon's the price of wheat is ſtated to be 10 ſhillings. In a return to the Houſe of Lords, in 1737, the price of wheat-meal is ſtated to be 1l. the barrel of 20 ſtones. The average of theſe different prices, excluſive of that in 1652, which was occaſioned by the devaſtation of the war then terminated, and excluſive of the wheat-meal, is about 19s. 7d. per quarter of 32 ſtones, on a ſuppoſition that the barrel of wheat then weighed 20 ſtones, which does not appear to have been the caſe. If the barrel was reckoned as half the quarter, the price was 1l. 4s. 8d. per quarter. The *higheſt* price of the quarter of wheat, of *nine* buſhels, in the Windſor market, in 1641, was, as appears in Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 265, 2l. 8s. 0d.; the *higheſt* price in the year 1730, 1l. 16. 6d. the medium of which is 2l. 2s. 3d. or 17s. 7d. more than the *average* price in Ireland. The average price of middling wheat was 1l. 17s. 7d. the ſtatute quarter, during a period of five years, ending with 1729, as appears in Mr. Chalmers's table; but during the preceding years it was only 1l. 8s. 10d. The medium of which is 1l. 13s. 2½d. or 8s. 6½d. more than in Ireland.

prices

prices in Ireland even at that early part of the century. Subſequently to 1732, during forty-eight years, the import greatly exceeded the export of corn from Ireland, except in the period of four years ending in 1740, and even after the bounty had been raiſed. During 15 years, ending in 1773, the average price of wheat in Ireland was 50 ſhillings the quarter.

But there was another circumſtance which contributed to render the parſimonious bounties of the act in queſtion utterly inefficacious, with reference to the encouragement of tillage; and that was their not being accompanied, as thoſe in England were, by high duties on the importation of corn. By 22 C. II. c. 13, wheat imported into England, when the price did not exceed 53s. 4d. the quarter, was liable to a duty of 16 ſhillings the quarter; rye not exceeding 40s. to a ſimilar duty; and alſo barley and malt, not exceeding 32 ſhillings; and oats to a duty of 5s. 4d. the quarter, when not exceeding 16 ſhillings. Theſe bounties and theſe duties had conjointly the effect of encouraging the Engliſh farmer, by inſuring to him a reaſonable price for his corn, and precluding that competition which, notwithſtanding the ingenious reaſoning of the celebrated Dr. Smith, might be ſhewn to be, in certain reſpects, peculiarly prejudicial in the farming buſineſs *. They had alſo the effect of inſuring to the conſumers a regular and ample ſupply of corn at a moderate rate.

But the home-market of Ireland was too contracted for the corn which, conſiſtently with reaſonable profit to the grower, the country was competent to ſupply. The Iriſh bounties, at the prices at which they were to be given, were evidently inſufficient to attract to agriculture any conſiderable ſhare of the capital and induſtry of the ruricolar people of Ireland, with the view of ſupplying foreign markets; and the want of duties on import left thoſe who happened to engage in it expoſed to the diſcouraging effects of competition. Hence, agriculture became in Ireland a precarious and, generally, unprofitable purſuit; and the conſumers of corn were eventually ſubjected to great occaſional diſtreſs.

In conſequence, probably, of the landlords having experienced, in the payment of their rents, the effects of the former circumſtance, they fell

* If the nature of the farming buſineſs be duly compared with that of any manufacture, it will be found that much of the reaſoning which might be employed in behalf of competition in the latter caſe, is inadmiſſible in the former. But this is not a fit place for the diſcuſſion of this queſtion.

very

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very generally into the practice of reſtraining their tenants from ploughing. This neceſſarily tended to aggravate and render more frequent the diſtreſs of ſuch conſumers as were not occupiers or owners of land. In the year 1727, as appears by a letter from archbiſhop Boulter, one of the lords juſtices, to lord Carteret, dated July 20th in that year, "the kingdom," to uſe his Grace's words, "laboured under a terrible ſcarcity, next to a famine." In order to prevent a recurrence of which, and to which, his Grace adds, "Ireland is liable upon any the leaſt accident in the harveſt," he announces his intention to forward a bill, impoſing an obligation on the occupiers of land to plough five acres in every 100. This projected bill appears to have been for ſome time a ſubject of diſcuſſion between the lord juſtice and his principal correſpondents in England; for, in a letter dated 24th February 1727, he apologizes for it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, telling him that "it does encourage tillage by allowing any premium to exporters of corn; but barely obliges every perſon occupying 100 acres or more (meadows, parks, bogs, &c. excepted), to till five acres out of every 100."[a] The aſſurance juſt quoted ſufficiently indicates, that the encouragement of tillage in Ireland was very far from being the object of the Britiſh government; and that the bounties held forth by 6 A. c. 18, were not, when offered, deemed to have a tendency to the end profeſſed, but conſidered as merely illuſive, as well by the framers of the bill, as by thoſe who have ſince examined them, with reference to their effects, and in compariſon with the bounties granted in England. In fact, agriculture, being the parent of manufactures, and neceſſarily calculated to occaſion, by its extenſion, a vaſt increaſe of people, the Britiſh government, under the influence of thoſe conſiderations, with regard to Ireland, which operated in the early part of the laſt century with undiminiſhed force, ſtudiouſly either aimed at the diſcouragement, or reſiſted the encouragement of that purſuit in Ireland, while it was as ſtudiouſly encouraged in England.

To draw into the hands of Britiſh manufacturers and farmers the whole of the wealth derived, by a ſcanty population in Ireland, from the produce of paſture and the linen manufacture, would alone have gratified the monopolizers of Britain, ſeconded by the ſtateſmen of the day.

That there prevailed a wiſh rather to diminiſh, than to augment the population of Ireland, ſeems extremely probable. The countenance given by

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by the Britiſh government to French officers, employed in recruiting in Ireland for the army of France, is a ſtrong evidence of ſuch a wiſh *; and a ſupplementary proof of it may be drawn from the readineſs with which tranſportation to America was reſorted to; not merely for offences, but for that idleneſs which the reſtrictive and oppreſſive laws in queſtion naturally occaſioned. The number of convict felons and vagabonds ordered for tranſportation in ſeven years, ended in 1743, was 1,920, viz. 937 from the province of Leinſter, 542 from Munſter, 296 from Ulſter, and 145 from Connaught. Of theſe, at leaſt 432 were vagabonds; but, probably, a great many more; as in 12 of the returns which were made to Parliament, and of which that from Cork was one, felons and vagabonds were blended together. They ſold in Maryland for 9l. 10s. per head.

The compulſory act in queſtion, viz. 1 G. II. c. 10, required that after the 1ſt November 1729, every perſon occupying 100 acres of land at a greater diſtance from Dublin than five miles, ſhould till five acres in every 100, bog, mountain, rocky, craggy, or fenny land, woodland, meadow, and parks encloſed with walls or pales excepted, notwithſtanding any covenant, contract, condition, or agreement between landlord and tenant. From this requiſition it may be inferred, that the quantity of land under tillage in Ireland, in 1727, was much leſs than computed by Sir W. Petty in 1762, or upwards of half a century before; for, as the act required the tilling of five acres only in every 100, it is reaſonable to preſume that there were not at the time more than about three acres in every 100 in a ſtate of tillage; and as the profitable land, including meadows and parks, did not conſiſt of more than, nor perhaps ſo much as eight millions of acres Iriſh meaſure, that there were not, conſequently, more than 240,000 acres of ploughed land, which was 260,000 leſs than in the time of Sir W. Petty. Even in the year 1730, in the event of the requiſition having been complied with, there could not have been more than 400,000 acres in tillage, which was 100,000 ſhort of the number computed by Sir W. Petty.

This extraordinary act appears to have had but little efficacy in ſupplying the home-market, during three years which ſucceeded it; for

* See archbiſhop Boulter's letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, dated October 14th, 1730. This practice is ſpoken of more at large in the inquiry into the progreſs and magnitude of the population of Ireland.

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though the average annual ſurplus of corn exported, exceeded the quantity imported, it fell ſhort of the exceſs of exported over imported corn, during any period but two, from the beginning of the century. Subſequently to the year 1732, it appears to have been wholly inefficacious; the quantity of corn imported having exceeded that which was exported during 40 years, with the exception of one period of four years ended in 1740. Its operation muſt indeed have been, in ſome degree, counteracted by the ſuppreſſion of the tithe agiſtment, or tithe on dry and barren cattle; an event which may be conſidered as tantamount to giving a premium to the grazier. This tithe, with which the Iriſh landlords had been for ſome time diſſatisfied, fell under diſcuſſion in the Houſe of Commons on the 18th of March 1735; when a reſolution was carried by 110 againſt 50, declaring it to be "grievous, burdenſome, and *injurious to the Proteſtant intereſt* *." That it was more grievous or burdenſome than any other tithe may well be queſtioned; that it was injurious to the *Proteſtant intereſt* can hardly be believed by thoſe who perceive how eminently ſo its ſuppreſſion has proved. Parochial unions were thereby rendered more neceſſary than before, in order to afford ſuitable maintenance to the clergy †. The number of paſtors was eventually diminiſhed, and the difficulty of performing the paſtoral duties of courſe increaſed. Beſides, the ſplendid incomes which, in conſequence of the great recent increaſe of tillage, ſeveral of the clergy came at length to derive from their benefices, naturally allured them, in many inſtances, into certain modes of living by no means favourable to the extenſion of the Proteſtant religion. But in the early part of the laſt century, few meaſures, however objectionable, were reſiſted, with which the Proteſtant intereſt could, even by ſophiſtical reaſoning, be linked; nor does the deluſion ſeem as yet to be wholly diſſipated. The Proteſtant intereſt is ſtill ſucceſsfully employed as a ſubterfuge by thoſe who act under no other impulſe than the *amor ſceleratus habendi.*

A few years after paſſing the obligatory act which has juſt been diſmiſſed, there paſſed one, viz. 5 G. II. c. 8, the object thereof was rather to aſſiſt the linen and hempen manufactures, than to promote the tillage of Ire-

* This tithe was finally aboliſhed by 40 G. III. c. 23.

† The number of pariſhes in Ireland is 2,436; the number of benefices or unions, 1,120; the number of churches, 1,001; and the number of glebe-houſes, 355.

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land. It exempted from tithe, waſte land employed in the culture of flax, hemp, or rape. And twenty-four years after, the inefficacy of compulſion with regard to tillage being fully proved, as may be ſeen in the corn tables in the Appendix, which ſhew that the exceſs of corn imported beyond that which was exported had become unprecedentedly great, recourſe was had to an act of a remunerative nature; but how far calculated to attain the end profeſſed, the reader may judge by the bounties it offers, without looking for its effects in the tables in the Appendix. The fact is, thoſe who exerciſed the powers of government in Ireland, occaſionally wiſhed to preclude the diſtreſſes of the Iriſh people, by ſecuring a ſufficient home ſupply of corn; but it was far from their intention to encourage the tillage of Ireland, ſo as to give the people the full benefits reſulting from a ſpirited purſuit thereof.

The act in queſtion, viz. 29 G. II. c. 9, begins with a truth which ought to have operated more efficaciouſly on the Iriſh legiſlature than it did. The truth alluded to is thus expreſſed in the preamble of the act; "whereas a liberty of exporting grain, under proper regulations, will be a great means of promoting tillage, and thereby preventing the extreme neceſſity to which the poor of this kingdom have been too frequently reduced, through want of proviſions, &c."

The encouragement which the act then holds forth, conſiſts in the following paltry bounties, viz. two ſhillings the quarter on wheat exported, not exceeding 24 ſhillings; one ſhilling and ſix-pence on rye not exceeding 14 ſhillings; the ſame on bere, barley, and malt not exceeding 12 ſhillings; and one ſhilling on oats not exceeding ſix ſhillings. The quarters of wheat and rye to weigh *forty* ſtones; the quarters of bere and barley, 24 ſtones; the quarter of malt, 20 ſtones, and the quarter of oats, 22 ſtones. The framers of the act certainly could not have believed that theſe bounties, unaccompanied as they were by duties on corn imported, were calculated to promote the tillage of Ireland; nor can it be conceived that any intelligent perſon could be thus perſuaded. The bounty on wheat was little more than one-fourth of that which was granted in England 67 years before: and the exporting price at which that bounty could be obtained was not much more than one-third of the price at which the bounty could be obtained in England; nor was it more than one half of the average price of wheat in Ireland at the time of paſſing the act: whereas the average

average price of wheat in England, about the time of paſſing the firſt bounty act there, was little more than half the price at which it could be exported under the bounty. The ſame obſervations are applicable to rye, and nearly ſo to barley. The Engliſh act, it is true, held forth no bounty on the exportation of oats or barley; but thoſe which were offered by the Iriſh act, beſides being trivial, were illuſive; as the average price of oats in Ireland was 6s. 6d. more, or upwards of twice the price at which the export bounty could be obtained; and the average price of barley was 1s. 6d. more.

Beſides, it is to be obſerved, that this act did not in reality offer what deſerved to be called a greater bounty on the exportation, at leaſt of wheat, than was offered by the inoperative act of 6 A. c. 18, paſſed near half a century before: for at the time of paſſing the latter, corn was ſold by the meaſures appointed by 7 W. III. c. 24, which were the peck containing two gallons of 272¼ cubical inches each, the buſhel eight gallons, and ſo on; conſequently the medium weight of the quarter of wheat was probably between 32 and 33 ſtones; and of courſe 1s. 6d. bounty in that caſe was nearly equal to two ſhillings in the caſe before us; the exporter getting only 2d. or 2½d. per quarter more in this than in that.

It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that as the people of Ireland had almoſt entirely forſaken tillage, a trifling increaſe of bounties, or any other than ample permanent bounties, ſeconded by duties on importation, were evidently inſufficient to induce them to turn their capitals to that purſuit, and abandon the lazy life of the grazier.

The next tillage act, which paſſed, was the 31 G. II. c. 3. The primary object of this act was to ſupply the city of Dublin with corn, by means of bounties on the inland carriage thereof to that city *. But the framer of it had doubtleſs in view, as a ſecondary object, the encouragement of tillage in Ireland; and both theſe objects were attained; the latter, however, only to a certain degree. The preamble of it ſtates that the inhabitants of Dublin had frequently been reduced to great diſtreſs for want of corn. It was there indeed that ſuch diſtreſs was chiefly felt;

* In the early part of the laſt century, Dublin was one of the ports from whence the greateſt quantity of corn was exported. In the year 1714, there were exported from thence 43,837 average barrels of all ſorts of grain. From all Ireland 212,725.

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as may be inferred from a comparative ſtatement of the importations into it, and thoſe into all parts of Ireland, preſented to parliament ſome years after the act began to take effect. By this ſtatement it appears, that from the year ended in March 1744, to that which ended in March 1753, the quantity of wheat imported into Dublin was 480,013 quarters, while that imported into all parts of Ireland was only 607,999 quarters; and that the quantity of flour imported into Dublin, during the ſame period, was 1,069,977 cwt. that imported into all parts of Ireland only 1,678,003.

This ſingular meaſure, which was to take effect from the firſt of June, 1758, though liable to conſiderable objections, was productive of beneficial effects. Compared with the expedient of giving a bounty on the carriage of corn coaſtways to Dublin, which was adopted ten years afterwards, it appeared to conſiderable diſadvantage; and compared with the liberal and efficacious bounties on the exportation of corn, the prudent regulations reſpecting it, and the duties affecting its unneceſſary importation, which diſtinguiſhed the year 1784, and on the effects of which it will be neceſſary to dwell for ſome time, facts will ſhew that it had very little claim to approbation. If viewed, however, with reference to the controling policy of Britain, with regard to Ireland, its author may be conſidered as entitled to ſome praiſe both for ingenuity and patriotiſm.

The bounties on exportation which were granted in England had the general effect of preventing ſcarcity from being experienced in any part of that kingdom; and it muſt have been ſufficiently evident that ſimilar bounties would have produced ſimilar effects in Ireland. But had ſuch bounties been granted in the latter, ſeconded by heavy duties on importation, as in the former, the corn of England would have been excluded from the market of Ireland; and would, moreover, have found a formidable rival in foreign markets; both of which circumſtances would have been utterly inconſiſtent with that churliſh impolitic ſyſtem which England had long purſued, and ſeemed determined to purſue with regard to Ireland. Beſides this act was framed much about the time when the corn trade of England was at its height, and promiſed to become a moſt important branch of commerce *. Had the expedient of granting boun-

* Exceſs of exports of all ſorts of grain from England:

Average of	5 years ending with	1754	1,080,077 quarters.
	5 years ditto	1759	273,805 ditto.
	5 years ditto	1764	676,117 ditto. *Chalmers's Eſtimate*, p. 232.

ties

ties on exportation, in order to insure an ample and constant supply of corn in the home market, been merely speculative, it ought to have been resorted to, for a short time at least, on account of its apparent eligibility. But it was not merely speculative. The legislature of Ireland had a full and satisfactory practical proof of its efficacy in the case of England. In 68 years ending with 1764, six years after the inland bounty began to operate in Ireland, and when the exports of corn from England, in consequence of the increased consumption at home, ceased to exceed the imports, the number of quarters of all sorts of corn exported from England, after deducting for the number imported, was 33,415,239; which, as oats were excluded from the bounty, probably brought into the country not less than 41,769,048l.; and all this time the general average price of wheat was no more than 1l. 13s. 4d. the quarter. This was, on an average, upwards of 600,000l. a year. Mr. Chalmers says that England gained a million annually. And this gain was obtained by bounties to English merchants, amounting in the whole to 5,957,085, or about 87,604l. 3s. 9d. on an average each year. In other words, the nation gained 41,769,048l. in 68 years, at an expense of 5,957,085l., paid to its own merchants, while the home consumers of corn were amply supplied. But the time was not yet come when Ireland could resort to the best expedients, even for the purpose of supplying her population with food.

During about 16 years after the inland bounty began to operate, the imports still continued to exceed the exports of corn; and would no doubt have continued much longer had not an increase of bounties on exportation taken place in 1773-4. The importation of corn was, it is true, greatly diminished by the inland bounty; but it would not only have been completely precluded, but also succeeded by a very lucrative export, if the money employed in that bounty had been expended in bounties on exportation; and the consumers of corn would have been better supplied. The amount of the inland carriage bounty, for eleven years ended in 1772, was 153,931l. The smallest average excess of corn imported beyond that which was exported, from the commencement of the bounty to the period ended in 1772, was that in the period ended in 1768, and which amounted to 71,202 barrels of all sorts of corn. The average excess of corn imported, during the period which immediately preceded that in which the bounty was granted, was 190,184 barrels, and this was the greatest average

rage excefs that happened in the century, except in the period of four years ended in 1748. Now if the former be deducted from the latter, and the remainder, viz. 118,982 barrels, be taken as the average annual excefs of imports precluded by the bounty, the number of barrels thus precluded will be feen to amount, in eleven years, to 1,308,802, which, eftimated at 17s. the barrel, on an average, were worth 1,112,481l. 14s. So that the Irifh people paid annually 13,993l. 14s. 6¼d. to *fave* that fum, while the Engliſh people paid 87,604l. 3s. 9d. to *gain* 614,250l. annually; and the conſumers of corn were better ſupplied in England than in Ireland: for in the former the general average price of wheat was 1l. 13s. 4d. the quarter of 32¼ ſtones, and in the latter 2l. 10s. the quarter of 40 ſtones. Ireland ſpent her money, like a ſpendthrift, to keep off demands: England laid out hers, like a merchant, to encreaſe wealth. When Ireland was permitted to reſort to the Engliſh bounties and protecting duties ſhe *gained*, in ten years ended in 1795, 4,042,811l. 7s. 9¼d. or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. on an average each year; and there never was a more ample ſupply of corn in all parts of Ireland, though there had been a great ſcarcity of it juſt before.

The amount of the bounties paid for the carriage of corn to Dublin, from the year ended in 1762 to the year ended in 1784, the year in which the efficacious export bounties were granted, including canal bounties for two, and coaſtways bounties for five years, amounted to 882,149l. This ſum, even had the greateſt importation of corn that ever happened in Ireland, viz. that of the period ended in 1748, continued to be requiſite throughout the period of 22 years, would not have ſaved the country ſix millions of money. But had it been applied in export bounties it would have brought into the country clear, as in England, upwards of that ſum. Or rather, had the legiſlature of Ireland offered as liberal bounties on the exportation of corn as were granted on its tranſportation to Dublin, from the year 1762 to 1784 incluſive, the nation might on an average have annually *gained*, as it did ſubſequently to that year, 404,281l. or near nine millions in the 22 years, inſtead of *ſaving*, at the utmoſt, leſs than ſix millions *. Ireland would beſides have enjoyed all the important benefits reſulting from extenſive and proſperous tillage 22 years before

* The total amount of the bounty paid on the exportation of grain from England in 36 years, beginning with the bounty and ending in 1724, was 1,580,889l. The land-carriage

before ſhe did ſo; and the people would have been reſcued from occaſional diſtreſs, as they were after the year 1784.

In the year ended 25th March 1786, after the effective bounties on exportation were offered, there were exported from the ports of Drogheda, Dundalk and Wexford 10,606 barrels of barley and malt, 63,275 of oats, 7,774 cwt. of flour, 32,282 barrels of oatmeal, and 2,423 barrels of wheat. This, or indeed an adequate ſupply might have been drawn from theſe three ports only, by means of a bounty on the carriage of corn coaſtways, much lower than that which was paid on its carriage by land. But liberal bounties on exportation would have totally precluded the neceſſity of ſupplying Dublin, by granting bounties on corn brought either by land or water. In fact, we ſee, by a recent return to parliament, that Dublin is actually not only ſupplied with corn, but can export a ſurplus; as was the caſe in the early part of the laſt century *. From the 1ſt of October 1806 to the 5th of June 1807, as appears by this return, Dublin exported to England *alone*, from whence it was formerly ſupplied, 1,140 barrels of barley and malt, 8,095 of oats, 3,725 of wheat, 760 cwt. of flour, and 10 of oatmeal; and imported only 1,047 barrels and 4½ cwt. of all ſorts of corn ground and unground.

By granting thoſe bounties on the carriage of corn to Dublin coaſtways which were granted in 1780, inſtead of the bounties held forth in 1758 on inland carriage, Dublin would have been as amply ſupplied as it was, and at the rate of 1s. 5⅛d. per barrel cheaper. Tillage would have been drawn to the improveable ſea coaſts, abounding in natural manures, inſtead of being introduced into the luxuriant paſtures in the interior of the country: and employment would have been given to a much more uſeful deſcription of men than mere car-drivers. Granting bounties therefore on the inland carriage of corn, in preference to bounties on its carriage coaſtways, would ſeem to the laſt degree perverſe and ridiculous, if the expedient were conſidered apart from the over-ruling policy of Britain. But, conſidered in conjunction therewith, it appears to have been neceſſary.

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riage bounty, in Ireland, from its commencement to 1798, viz. 37 years, was 1,247,863l. 3s. 0d. The bounty on corn brought by the canal, from the commencement of the bounty in 1783 to 1798, was 303,070l. 7s. 1d. making with the land carriage bounty 1,550,933l. 10s. 1d. or nearly as much as the export bounty paid in England.

* The quantity of barley, oats, and wheat exported annually from Dublin, on an average of three years ended 25th March 1715, was equal to 31,469 barrels.

About

About the time when the bounties on inland carriage were granted, England, always prompt to ſacrifice the welfare of Ireland to her own commercial avarice, was engaged in proſecuting an immenſe trade in corn; and from 1742 to 1764, ſupplied eight parts out of nine of that which the latter imported. Had bounties been granted on the carriage of corn coaſtways to Dublin, Engliſh corn would not only have been excluded from that market; but the encouragement thereby given to tillage all along the coaſt would, no doubt, have had the effect of excluding it from all the maritime towns alſo; or, in other words, from Ireland. This wiſer expedient therefore could not then be adopted with the approbation of England; nor was it, till about 15 years after her importation had annually exceeded her exportation of corn. About three years after this reverſe had taken place, viz. in the year 1767, a trifling bounty, evidently the offſpring of caution, was granted on corn brought coaſtways to Dublin. About ten years afterwards, this reverſe ſtill continuing, a trifling augmentation of the bounty was offered. But it was not till 15 years after its commencement, and when hopes could no longer be entertained of England's recovering her former gains by the exportation of corn, that theſe bounties were granted which produced the deſired effect.

This act, no doubt, ſaved the country, as before obſerved, a conſiderable ſum of money. According to the evidences of Meſſrs. Strettle and Colville, given before Parliament, the net national gain, or rather ſaving, by this expedient, in a period of fifteen years ſubſequent to 1758, compared with a ſimilar period antecedent to that year, amounted to 1,149,170l. 1s. 6d. or about 76,611l. on an average annually. The prices of the different grains, according to the evidence of the ſame gentlemen, were, during the former period, as follows, viz. wheat 50 ſhillings per quarter; oats 12 ſhillings and ſix-pence per quarter; and barley 13 ſhillings and ſix-pence per quarter.

It alſo occaſioned the erection of many of the fineſt mills, perhaps, in the world. Mr. Jebb's at Slaine, in the county of Meath, Captain Mercer's, near Loughlin-bridge, in the county of Carlow, and Mr. Moore's at Marlefield, near Clonmell, in the county of Tipperary, were very expenſive ſtructures. In the firſt, 14,000 barrels of wheat were annually ground ſoon after it was built; in the ſecond, 15,000, and in the third at leaſt as much. From the commencement of the bounty, to the year 1790,

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1790, viz. 31 years, there were erected no fewer than 248 mills, at the diſtance of from eleven to one hundred and thirty miles from Dublin; and a large majority of theſe coſt much greater ſums of money than individuals, generally ſpeaking, had before been tempted to expend in ſpeculations. Several country gentlemen embarked very conſiderable capitals in the flour buſineſs; and a vaſt many others were allured into the purſuit of tillage by the ready markets which theſe different mills afforded for its produce. The number of them from whence flour was brought to Dublin was as follows, viz.

In the Year	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.
1768	33	1774	125	1780	145	1786	172	1792	225
1769	31	1775	137	1781	140	1787	171	1793	218
1770	81	1776	147	1782	144	1788	179	1794	210
1771	104	1777	156	1783	146	1789	200	1795	219
1772	99	1778	137	1784	158	1790	213	1796	219
1773	113	1779	139	1785	180	1791	221		

The increaſe in the produce of corn, occaſioned by this act, appears to have induced foreign agents to come to Ireland for the purpoſe of procuring a ſupply. But the fact being known, the Iriſh legiſlature immediately paſſed an act, viz. 5 G. III. c. 4, to prohibit exportation, leſt the people of Ireland ſhould experience a ſcarcity: an evil, however, which their legiſlature had alwavs ſtudiouſly avoided to take the proper and only ſteps to prevent.

The bounty granted by this act was five-pence every five miles for every 40 ſtones of wheat, flour, malt, oats, barley, &c. brought from a greater diſtance than 10 Iriſh miles from Dublin. The quality of the grain and flour appears to have been overlooked, as no ſworn officer was appointed to inſpect it. And to that circumſtance the actual general inferiority of Iriſh to Engliſh wheat is to be traced and aſcribed.

In the third year of G. III. a ſhort act was paſſed merely explanatory of the foregoing one. By the 7 G. III. c. 12, a bounty was given on corn, &c. brought by land to Dublin from a greater diſtance than five miles; and an additional bounty of one halfpenny per mile was given on every 40 ſtones of unground corn. By the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17, the principal object whereof was the exportation of corn, no bounty was to be paid on flour brought by land, unleſs, on oath being made, that it was good and merchantable, and *bonâ fide* ſold, without practice or colluſion, for ſix ſhil-

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lings per hundred at leaſt. By this act alſo the bounty on flour, wheat, and malt brought by land carriage, was lowered, with the view of inducing the tranſmiſſion of theſe by the grand canal, the grain and flour brought by which were entitled, by 17 & 18 G. III. c. 29, to two-thirds of the land-carriage bounty; the oatmeal to the full amount thereof. In addition to theſe acts for ſupplying Dublin with Iriſh corn, there were paſſed three others; the ſecond and third of which may be conſidered as amendments to the firſt, and all of them merely as an improvement of the means of ſupplying the Dublin market with the ſurplus produce of the diſtant parts of Ireland. The acts alluded to, were the 7 G. III. c. 4, by which a bounty of 4d. per cwt. was granted on flour, wheat, &c. brought coaſtways to Dublin, from any place between Wicklow and the Tuſcar rock to the ſouthward, and between Drogheda and Carrickfergus to the northward; and 5d. from any place ſouth of the Tuſcar rock, or north of Carrickfergus; and likewiſe a bounty of 4d. per cwt. on corn, &c. brought coaſtways from any place ſouth of Cooley Point, near Carlingford, to Belfaſt Newry or Londonderry.—The 17 & 18 G. III. c. 34, by which 4d. per cwt. was granted for corn, and 12d. for flour brought from between Wicklow and the Tuſcar, or Drogheda and Carrickfergus; and 5d. per cwt. on corn, and 1s. 2d. per cwt. on flour brought from any place ſouth of the Tuſcar, or north of Carrickfergus. In this act, by the way, it is obſerved, that bounties on the carriage of corn coaſtways would tend to leſſen the expenſe of thoſe on inland carriage; a notable and early diſcovery truly. The third act alluded to, was the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 34, by which bounties of 10d. per cwt. of grain, and 1s. 6d. per cwt. of malt or flour of wheat, were granted on all brought coaſtways from between Doonaff-head, in the county of Donegal, and Cape Clear, in the county of Cork. The effects of theſe different acts will be ſeen in the table in the Appendix, marked V.

The next act of an illuſive nature, relative to the tillage of Ireland, was 5 G. III. c. 19. This act ſeems alſo to have been the effect of dictated caution. It paſſed in the firſt year of the firſt period in which the importation of corn into England exceeded the exportation from thence. It granted a bounty of 8d. per hundred on wheat exported, when not exceeding ſix ſhillings, which was juſt half the bounty granted in England

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ſeventy-ſeven years before; and half the exporting price, and, probably, not ſo high as the medium price at the time in Ireland *. It alſo granted 5d. per hundred on barley exported, when not exceeding three ſhillings and nine-pence, which likewiſe was not more than one-half of the Engliſh bounty and exporting price of malt, there being no bounty on the exportation of barley from England. Beſides theſe, it granted a bounty of 5d. per hundred on oats exported, when not exceeding three ſhillings, which was equal to about 1s. 1½d. the quarter, when at 6s. 9d., which was much below the then medium price of oats in the Iriſh market. On flour and meal it granted no bounty; nor was it aſſiſted by proper duties on importation.

The 5 G. III. c. 18., which accompanied this act, though not originating in the ſame conſiderations which appear to have influenced the framers of the foregoing acts, is too analogous to them in nature and effect to be reſerved for another place. It offered premiums of from 8l. to 50l. to ſuch landholders or farmers, in each county, as preſerved the greateſt quantity of corn on ſtands, four feet high, with flag-ſtones on top. No perſon, however, could obtain a premium unleſs he had, at the leaſt, 100 barrels of corn on his ſtand. To the perſon who ſhould have the greateſt quantity between that number and 200, a premium of 8l. was allotted; and other proportionate premiums were offered, the higheſt in the ſcale being 50l. for the greateſt quantity above 500 barrels. The barrels of wheat, meſlin, and rye were to weigh 20 ſtones; barley and bere 16, and oats 14. The ſmalleſt quantity for which a premium could be obtained implied, if potatoes and fallow-ground be included, about 25 acres Engliſh meaſure, in a ſtate of tillage in the occupation of one perſon, which, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, was rarely the caſe. And if ſo, the framers of the act either betrayed downright ignorance of the ſtate of the country; or had not really in view the object which they profeſſed to aim at.

* The general average price of wheat in England, from 1739 to 1764 inclusive, being about 30s. 8d. the quarter, the price thereof in Ireland, which was chiefly ſupplied by England, muſt then have been greater, as the bounty on export did little more than pay the expenſes of freight, commiſſion, &c. And that ſuch was the caſe may be ſeen by the evidence before quoted.

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Thirty-ſix years only had elapſed ſince the enaction of the law requiring landholders to plough five acres in every 100, meadows, parks, rough ground, &c. excepted; and this law appears to have totally loſt its efficacy a few years after its enaction. Moreover 30 years only had elapſed ſince the ſuppreſſion of the tithe agiſtment; an event which may be conſidered in the light of a ſort of bounty on paſturage. Ireland, beſides, was annually importing large quantities of corn, and exporting very ſmall ones. It was more a land of paſture than it had been ſince the commencement of the century. The quantity of beef and butter exported, during eight years ended in 1768, was, as appears by the table in the Appendix, marked VI., greater than had been before exported during a period of equal extent. In the year 1763, two years after paſſing this act, there were ſlaughtered in Cork alone, according to a return made to the writer by the late collector, Mr. Shaw, 63,000 oxen and cows for exportation. The price of beef, in that city, in 1760, as appears by the private letter of a merchant, then written, and now in the writer's poſſeſſion, was conſidered high at 13s. 6d. per cwt. Eighteen years before that, when 75,000 head of cattle were ſlaughtered in one year in Cork, the price of beef was ſo low as 5s. 10d. per cwt. The price of ſmall beef in Waterford, in 1760, according to the letter before-mentioned, was from 7s. 6d. to 8s. per cwt. and that of butter 24s. The price of butter in Cork, four years after, was, on an average of the months of July and November, 36s. per cwt. Theſe facts ſufficiently atteſt the then prevalence of paſture in Ireland, and the contracted ſtate of its tillage; and authorize a belief that 25 acres of tillage were rarely found in the occupation of any individual but a gentleman of conſiderable fortune reſident in the country. Accordingly, 7,484l. out of 12,800l. granted for premiums to be diſtributed in two years ended 1ſt January 1768, remained unclaimed: and an act, viz. 7 G. III. c. 28, paſſed for giving greater premiums for a ſmaller quantity of wheat preſerved on the preſcribed ſtands; the loweſt premium being 10l. for 1,000 ſtones, or 50 barrels; and likewiſe premiums of from 5l. to 15l. to the five farmers, in each county, holding not more than 40 acres, who ſhould have the greateſt quantity of corn thus preſerved, without limitation as to the number of ſtones or barrels. The 13 & 14 G. III. c. 11, though it offered greater bounties on exportation than any of the foregoing acts, viz. three ſhillings and four-pence Britiſh per quarter of

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of 32 ſtones on wheat; the ſame on meal and flour, and one ſhilling and three-pence per quarter of 22 ſtones on oats exported, may be conſidered as almoſt equally illuſive; for the exporting price of wheat at which the bounty was claimable, was one ſhilling Britiſh the ſtone, or 32 ſhillings the quarter, and that of oats nine ſhillings the quarter. But the average price of the former in the Iriſh market, for 15 years, ended in 1773, was, according to the evidences of Meſſrs. Strettle and Colville, 50 ſhillings per quarter; and that of the latter 12 ſhillings and ſix-pence *. This act likewiſe left the growers of corn expoſed to the diſcouraging effects of competition in the home market. In the following ſeſſion, a duty of one ſhilling was impoſed, by 15 & 16 G. III. c. 3, on every cwt. of bread, flour, and biſcuit, and two ſhillings on every barrel of wheat imported, except Britiſh, when the price did not exceed 23 ſhillings. But as the price did generally exceed 23 ſhillings, and as the people of England were the moſt likely to be the ſuppliers of the Iriſh market, theſe duties could be of little or no avail: nor were they probably impoſed with any other view, than merely to excite an expectation of future ſupport among thoſe wealthy individuals who had been induced by the bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin, to expend very conſiderable ſums in the erection of mills.

The preamble of the 5 G. III. c. 19. ſets out with ſaying, "whereas the laws heretofore made for the encouragement of tillage in this kingdom have not had the deſired effect." The preamble of the act juſt noticed ſays the ſame thing, after obſerving upon the expediency of the encouragement of tillage, *in order to enable the people to ſupport the neceſſary expenſes of His Majeſty's eſtabliſhments*; and yet the framers of this laſt act ſtudiouſly declined to hold forth thoſe encouragements which they well knew could alone have had the oſtenſibly intended effect. The uninterruptedly beneficial effects of the Engliſh bounties and regulations, for near 70 years, were before their eyes; and yet, to theſe bounties and regulations they ſtill perſiſted in declining to reſort. Why? Evidently becauſe they were either compelled or bribed to debar their country from participating thoſe benefits which England had enjoyed, and ſtill hoped to enjoy excluſively.

* From the report of the committee on the inland carriage of corn, 12th March 1774. Whether the quarter of 32 or 40 ſtones be meant in the evidence does not appear.

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In the midſt of theſe illuſive and inefficacious, limited and inadequate acts, there paſſed one, viz. 12 & 13 G. III. c. 21, of a ſomewhat different complexion, and which may be conſidered in a twofold view. It granted permiſſion to *papiſts* to take leaſes, not exceeding 61 years, of tracts of bog, not exceeding 50 plantation acres, and *half an acre* of arable adjoining the bog, for the ſite of a houſe, or for the purpoſe of delving for gravel or limeſtone for manure. This extremely parſimonious act, though liable to both ridicule and reprehenſion, was not, however, ill calculated to induce agricultural improvement, and to increaſe the Roman Catholic population; beſides being the prelude to the abrogation of thoſe tyrannical, impolitick, and ruinous laws which ſo long repreſſed the induſtry of the Roman Catholics, and by ſo doing, conduced, with other laws, to render nearly abortive the various and ſignal natural advantages of Ireland: an abrogation which ſoon had the effect of increaſing their numbers and their wealth with wonderful rapidity, and giving them, eventually, a degree of importance in every political eſtimate of the empire, greater than moſt people ſuppoſe, or than many are diſpoſed to allow; but which *facts* are not wanting to evince.

The 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17. placed Ireland nearly upon a par with England in reſpect of the corn trade. But what were the conditions of the two countries when that act paſſed? The people of Ireland were united. Upwards of 40,000 Iriſh volunteers boldly demanded a redreſs of grievances, and an exemption from oppreſſion; and the Iriſh legiſlature was conſtrained at length to purſue its proper object, the welfare of the country.

On the other hand, England was reduced by the American war to ſuch a ſtate of debility, as rendered it prudent to yield to the juſt demands of the Iriſh; and ſhe had moreover ceaſed, for fifteen years, to derive a balance on her trade in corn.

The ſeveral temporary acts which paſſed in, and ſubſequent to, the ſeſſion of 1781-2, transferring to the growers of flax and hemp, the premiums which had antecedently been granted to the importers of theſe ſeeds, were calculated to hold forth encouragement to tillage, as well as to provide againſt accidental deficiencies of the raw material of the linen manufacture *.

* The average annual amount of the bounties granted on the importation of flax-ſeed for eight years, ended 25th March 1779, was 7,250 l. 5s. 1½d.

Before

Before we proceed to the conſideration of the other illuſive acts of the Iriſh legiſlature, it ſeems not amiſs, in the firſt place, to repeat that the encouragement held forth to Iriſh tillage was proportionate to the decline of the Engliſh corn trade, being trivial in and before 1773, or about eight years after England had ceaſed to gain, great in 1780, or about 15 years after, and ample and effectual in 1784, or when England had abandoned all hopes of again becoming the granary of other countries. And, in the next place, to obſerve that the example of Ireland affords a full, unequivocal, and convincing evidence of the great utility of corn bounties, notwithſtanding all that has been ingeniouſly urged againſt them by intereſted, timid, or biaſſed individuals: for during 40 years, when no effectual bounty was granted on corn exported, Ireland, notwithſtanding the inland carriage bounty, was, with the exception of one period of four years, annually under the neceſſity of purchaſing corn from other countries, and her people were frequently diſtreſſed; but ſubſequently to the year 1784, when ſhe enjoyed the encouragement of liberal bounties, ſhe has annually ſold corn abroad to a great amount, and her rapidly increaſing people have ceaſed to experience diſtreſs.

The acts which purported to be for the encouragement of internal navigation, the ſecond great object which a wiſe and patriotic legiſlature ſhould keep in view, appear to have been almoſt as illuſive and were, in fact, almoſt as ineffectual as thoſe which purported to be for the encouragement of *tillage*.

The 2 G. I. c. 12., after expatiating, in the preamble, at conſiderable length on the many obvious benefits derivable, particularly in Ireland, from internal navigation, proceeds to means for attaining thoſe benefits which, in the then circumſtances, or even in the preſent circumſtances of Ireland, were moſt unlikely to prove efficacious. Four gentlemen, George Frizell, Henry Croſſdal, Samuel Eyre, and John Ringroſe, were in the firſt inſtance, empowered to make the river Shannon navigable from Limerick to Carrick-drumruſk, a ſpace of upwards of 100 Engliſh miles, at their proper coſts and charges; and were authorized to demand four-pence per ton per mile on all goods, wares, and merchandize. The undertaking, which, on account of the general navigableneſs of the Shannon, was very far from being extraordinarily operoſe or expenſive, was, however, ſoon diſcovered to be beyond their ability. The tolls which they were authorized.

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rized to demand were evidently high enough to diſcourage the people from ſending their goods by the river, had there been any abundance of goods to convey from one part of the country to another, or capital any where to create that abundance; the contrary of both which was the caſe; and yet the difficulty of procuring money to carry on the work under 8 per cent. ſeemed to render ſuch high tolls indiſpenſable. In the year 1703, the intereſt of money was reduced to 8l. per cent. *; in the year 1721, ſix years after paſſing this act, to 7l. per cent. †; and in the year 1731, to 6l. per cent. ‡. But in England, this laſt was the legal intereſt in 1660 §, and 5l. per cent. the legal intereſt in 1713 ¶, before which the inland navigation of that country appears to have but little attracted the attention of individuals. The ſame act which empowered theſe four undertakers to complete the navigation of the river Shannon, at their own expenſe, appointed, as commiſſioners, the then members of parliament, and juſtices of the peace for each county adjoining the intended navigations formerly mentioned ‖, and empowered them to agree with undertakers to complete the works within ſeven years.

Had the then condition of Ireland been propitious to the purſuit of internal navigation, the appointment of ſuch a multitude of commiſſioners who had no capitals embarked therein, would probably have had the effect of embarraſſing and retarding, inſtead of expediting the intended work. Beſides, the term preſcribed was, in many inſtances, evidently too ſhort for the completion thereof, with ſuch capitals as were then to be found, or could be collected in Ireland. But the condition of the country was ſingularly unfavourable to the proſecution of works of this nature. There was very little money. Archbiſhop Boulter, in a letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, written in 1724, ſtates the current coin in Ireland, gold, ſilver, and copper, at 400,000l.—There were, comparatively ſpeaking, very few people.—The return to the Houſe of Lords, in 1731, made the population amount to no more than 2,010,221, or about 66 ſouls, on an average, to every ſquare Engliſh mile.—There was no manufacture worthy of notice, except the linen; and that was then merely in its infancy: the average quantity annually exported, during a period of three years, ended

* 2 A. c. 16. † 8 G. I. c. 13. ‡ 5 G. II. c. 7. § 12 C. II. c. 13.
¶ 12 A. ſtat. 2. c. 10. ‖ Part 1. Section 2.

in

in 1712, or the year before the act paſſed, being only 1,439,833 yards, or about one-thirtieth of that which is actually exported, beſides the greatly increaſed quantity conſumed at home.—Tillage was very contracted,—the average annual exceſs of corn exported, beyond that which was imported, during a period of four years ended in 1712, being no more than 87,111 barrels, chiefly produced near the ſea coaſt; or about one-tenth of the exceſs in the period ended in 1792, when the population, amounting to 4,206,612, was conſiderably more than doubled.—And the general export trade of the country was extremely trivial; the value of the annual exports, during the period ended in 1712, being on an average only 826,661l.

The buſineſs of inland navigation will certainly not be proſecuted by private individuals, or companies, on their own account, without ſufficient inducements to undertake it; accompanied by the poſſeſſion, or at leaſt, the proſpect of means ſufficient to accompliſh the projected work. Such inducements and ſuch means are very rarely to be found, except in thriving countries, wherein there has been a very conſiderable accumulation of wealth. When in one part of a country, certain manufactures have flouriſhed, in conſequence of an extenſive foreign demand; in another, agriculture, in conſequence, perhaps, of a combination of natural circumſtances favourable thereto; and in a third, there is found ſome mineral production which the inhabitants of the other two may have occaſion for; the demands of the agriculturiſt for manufactures, of the manufacturers for corn, and of both for the produce of the mine, act as effectual inducements to ſpeculative perſons to undertake the taſk of opening or improving the communications between theſe different diſtricts by inland navigation; and the wealth created in one place by manufacturing, and in another by farming induſtry, ſupplies the means of accompliſhing the work. Or, when, in any country, agriculture flouriſhes in conſequence of a growing demand for its produce, either at home or from abroad, the advantages likely to accrue to thoſe who engage in inland navigation, from opening an extenſive market for the future ſurplus produce of thoſe manufactures which are the immediate offspring of agriculture, from facilitating the carriage of natural manures from places where they abound to thoſe where they are wanting, from cheapening the tranſportation of corn from diſtricts where, owing to peculiarities of ſoil and ſituation, the weather may have occaſioned an exuberant harveſt, to diſtricts where the weather may

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have occaſioned the reverſe, and from enabling the farmers of the more interior parts of the country to ſend their corn to the places of exportation; operate as ſufficient inducements to undertake the work; and, in ſuch a country, the means for accompliſhing it may, generally ſpeaking, be eaſily obtained from a multitude of intereſted contributors.

The attention of the people of England was but little directed to inland navigation until after the complete eſtabliſhment of many of thoſe manufactures which actually draw ſuch vaſt wealth into that country; nor until after its agriculture had begun to flouriſh by the aid of bounties on the exportation of its produce. The ſilk, the cotton, the linen, the paper, the porcelain, the glaſs, and other mannfactures, were eſtabliſhed in England ſince the Revolution. Subſequently to that epoch alſo was the great exportation of corn; and commenſurate with the increaſe of theſe was the proſecution of the buſineſs of inland navigation. It certainly was not the cauſe, but rather the effect of theſe.

Of the acts which aimed at the encouragement thereof, and which originated with intereſted individuals, there paſſed only ſix in the reign of King William, and three in that of Queen Anne; but in the reign of George the Firſt, there paſſed 13, in that of George the Second 26 *, and in that of His preſent Majeſty, more than had ever paſſed before. During the firſt fourteen ſeſſions of his reign, there paſſed no fewer than 19 acts for making artificial navigations, including the Bridgewater, Trent, and Forth canals †.

Such, as already noticed, was the commercial and agricultural condition of Ireland, at the time of paſſing the firſt navigation act, that it afforded neither any effective inducement to individuals or companies to engage in the buſineſs of inland navigation, nor the means of proceeding therewith, had any ſuch inducement exiſted. The act, therefore, which empowered commiſſioners to agree with undertakers to complete preſcribed works, within ſeven years, may fairly be conſidered as utterly illuſive.

* In theſe reigns the following rivers were made navigable, viz. the Aire, Calder, Frome, Beverley-beck, Avon, Brandon, Waveney, Cam, Canterbury river, river from Colcheſter to Wyvenhoe, Dane, Darwent, Derwent, Douglas, Dun, Eden, Ivel, Idle, Kennet, Lark, Loyne, Medway, Merſey, Trewel, Nare, Nen, Ouſe, Rodon, Sankey-brook, Stour, Stroudwater, Tone, Trent, Weaver, Worſley-brook, Wye, and Lagg.

† Chalmers.

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Its inefficacy, which certainly muſt have been foreſeen by the framers of it, was announced in an act which paſſed fourteen years after, viz. 3 G. II. c. 3., purporting to be for the encouragement of tillage, and alſo for the more effectual putting the act juſt noticed in execution: thus coupling together two purſuits, tillage and inland navigation, which are in a peculiar manner ancillary to each other; and undoubtedly the greateſt objects in political economy that can engage the attention of the ſtateſman. This laſt act proceeds with obſerving, that private perſons were diſcouraged from engaging in the undertakings in contemplation, on account of the great expenſe neceſſarily attendant thereon; that the encouraging of tillage, and employing the poor of the kingdom, would be of great benefit to the ſame; and that it is reaſonable and fit that works of ſuch public benefit and advantage ſhould be carried on, at the charge of the kingdom, by ſome public fund appointed and ſet apart for that purpoſe, &c. Fourteen years were ſurely rather more than were requiſite for the diſcovery of ſuch obvious truths as theſe. But the legiſlature of Ireland, during the period of its ſubordination, was, on all important occaſions, wonderfully tardy in its inveſtigations of truth; and powerfully reſtrained from acting in conformity therewith when diſcovered; but always laudably ingenuous in acknowledging its errors. In the caſe of the corn bounties, it acknowledged its errors, either formally or virtually, in ſucceſſive acts, yet pertinaciouſly declined, for near one hundred years, to adopt thoſe expedients which England had experimentally proved to be completely efficacious. In the caſe in queſtion, its conduct was ſimilar in effect to its conduct in the caſe alluded to. Conformable to the obſervations in the act, it inſtituted a public fund, formed of a tax of 20 ſhillings on four-wheeled, and five ſhillings on two-wheeled carriages; a tax of ſix-pence the pack on home-made, and twelve-pence the pack on imported cards; a tax of five ſhillings the pair on dice, and ſix-pence the ounce on gold and ſilver plate, home-made or imported: all to continue for 21 years, together with the King's moiety of forfeitures.

But the net produce of theſe taxes, in the firſt *twenty-one* years, amounted to no more than 63,128l. 9s. 7¼d. or 3,006l. 2s. 4⅓d., on an average, each year; out of which the commiſſioners appointed were empowered to pay the ſalaries of a clerk, door-keeper, and other neceſſary ſervants. How far the reſidue, if faithfully applied, which was very unlikely to be the caſe,

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was adequate to obtain for the people of Ireland the benefits of inland navigation, may eaſily be conjectured by thoſe who are in the leaſt degree converſant in the buſineſs *. But even this ſmall reſidue was made applicable to other purpoſes. The commiſſioners, appointed by the act, were the Lord Chancellor, the four archbiſhops, and twenty noblemen and gentlemen in each province. Of theſe, the major part preſent, ſuch major part not being leſs than eleven, were empowered to diſpoſe of the money ariſing from the duties, for the encouragement of tillage, employment of the poor, draining and improving bogs and unprofitable low grounds, making the ſeveral rivers navigable, and making canals in ſuch manner and proportion, and at ſuch times, as they ſhould think moſt fit and convenient. The greater part of theſe objects were juſt as likely, as inland navigation, to attract the attention of the commiſſioners; ſome of them much more ſo; and each of them was evidently calculated to abſorb the whole ſum. So that in fact, the act, after all, left the buſineſs of inland navigation in nearly the ſame condition.

Twenty-two years after, theſe commiſſioners were by 25 G. II. c. 10. formed into a company, or body corporate, under the title of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on Inland Navigation in Ireland. The company were authoriſed to elect, from among themſelves, for each of the four provinces, ſix aſſiſtants who were veſted with conſiderable powers. They were likewiſe authoriſed to appoint additional officers, and to increaſe the ſalaries and fees of others. They could alſo appoint perſons to draw maps of roads, &c. And were empowered to make navigable other rivers beſides thoſe mentioned in the firſt act.

The decline in the produce of the appropriated taxes was noticed in this act; and expedients and precautions were reſorted to in order to render them more productive. But it muſt have been evident, to every reflecting man, that the buſineſs of inland navigation was not more likely to be expeditiouſly and ſkilfully conducted under this, than under the former acts; and that jobbing and peculation were rather facilitated than precluded by it; and conſequently that it was as illuſive, in effect, as they were.

* The money granted to the commiſſioners of the Caledonian canal from the 20th of October 1803 to the 4th of May 1808 was 223,986l. 16s. 5d., or about 49,777l. per annum.

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The 29 G. II. c. 10. after noticing the difficulty of getting three of the corporation to meet, in order to ſettle diſputes with the proprietors of lands, and their general incompetency to ſettle ſuch diſputes, through ignorance of local circumſtances, gives a power to the corporation to delegate this buſineſs to others, not being members; and to the perſons, ſo delegated, it gives powers and authorities equal to thoſe exerciſed by the commiſſioners, or members of the corporation.

By 3 G. III. c. 11. the corporation were allowed to apply ſo much of the duties, as ſhould be found neceſſary, in building and furniſhing a houſe for their meeting and accommodation, and for the rent of a convenient one till their own ſhould be finiſhed. Thus was a wider field opened for profuſion and jobbing, while the buſineſs of inland navigation was left in its former ſtate.

The corporation having, in the courſe of the fourteen following years, iſſued warrants for the payment of money and incurred debts exceeding their funds, an act was paſſed, viz 17 & 18 G. III. c. 16., reſtraining the further iſſuing of warrants or orders for money until thoſe already iſſued were diſcharged, and the debts of the corporation fully paid, except for ſalaries, rent, and for ſuch ſums as might be neceſſary to repair accidental breaches in the works already made, and which the tolls of the navigation were not ſufficient to repair. This act likewiſe continued the duties, which conſtituted the funds of the corporation, for ſeven years from 1779. The total amount of theſe duties, for 56 years ended in 1786, was 382,292l.; the amount of the parliamentary grants to the corporation, during the ſame period, was 227,669l., making together the ſum of 609,961l. or 10,892l. on an average yearly. Had the whole of this ſum been every year faithfully applied to inland navigation alone, and ſkilfully expended therein, it might, perhaps, have at length produced a conſiderable effect; but it was applicable, as before noticed, to other purpoſes alſo; and ſubjected to deductions for ſalaries, fees, rent, buildings, &c. The reſidue left for inland navigation, was moreover, in part, moſt injudiciouſly expended, and, in part, as there is ſtrong reaſon for ſuſpecting, converted by individuals to private purpoſes. In the report made to parliament, it was ſtated that the perſons to whom the warrants were iſſued were accountable to the corporation, and that ſeveral of them never paſſed their accounts. The jobbing and negligence of this corporation were indeed ſo clearly perceived by

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many, and ſo univerſally ſuſpected, that a radical alteration, in the mode of carrying on the inland navigation of Ireland, was reſolved on, and effected by the parliament, among the earlier improvements that ſucceeded the eſtabliſhment of its independence. In fact, under the old corporation, the grand canal had not extended more than eight miles.

To every perſon of reflection, it muſt have been abundantly evident, that, in a country circumſtanced as Ireland was, with regard to trade, for upwards of ſixty years after paſſing the firſt act of the nature in queſtion, no effectual progreſs could poſſibly be made in inland navigation, without very conſiderable grants, on the part of government, to a well conſtituted and cloſely watched corporation or company. Individuals, as before obſerved, had neither means nor inducements to proſecute inland navigation at their own expence; nor to engage in it on an equality with government. When the tolls were inſufficient to repair the breaches in the canals, internal trade muſt have been at a very low ebb in Ireland. Yet the corporation were reſtrained from granting to undertakers more than one-ſixth of the ſum neceſſary to complete the work: and even this they were not empowered to grant until near fifty years had elapſed after the paſſing of the firſt act: and the commiſſioners of impreſt accounts were not armed with ſufficient powers to examine minutely into the expenditure of public money before 1784, or fifty-five years after the act which granted duties to the corporation for the purpoſe of carrying on their appropriate work.

The amount of the charge for penſions on the civil liſt, from 1729 to 1786 incluſive, was 3,367,928l., or 59,086l. on an average each year, being 48,194l. more than the annual amount of the duties appropriated to inland navigation. The government therefore appear, without looking into other accounts, to have been really able to apply five times more to inland navigation than was applied thereto. If, however, only the difference between the annual amount of the charge for penſions, during that period, and that of the taxes juſt mentioned, viz. 48,194l., which, for the moſt part, was ſcandalouſly laviſhed on prodigals, paraſites, pimps, proſtitutes and foreign princes, had been faithfully applied to inland navigation, the various benefits reſulting therefrom might long ſince have been attained*. Or had the difference between the annual amount of

* It was computed by a very ſenſible writer, ſhortly before the Union, that three millions, if ſkilfully expended, would give Ireland all the benefits of internal navigation.

theſe

theſe penſions and that of the bounties on corn exported, during the ſame period, viz. 56,104l. the former being, as above, 59,086l. and the latter only 2,982l. on a yearly average, been applied in liberal bounties on exported corn, the agriculture of Ireland would have been encouraged as it was by the liberal bounties of 1784; which yet, on an average of four years ended in 1789, fell ſhort of that difference by 8,311l. And the encouragement of tillage, by ſuch means, would have then had, as it afterwards had, the effects of exciting a ſpirit of induſtry and enterpriſe; increaſing the capital of the nation; and furniſhing private individuals with means and inducements to engage in the buſineſs of inland navigation, with a ſuitable aid on the part of government.

Theſe obvious effects the leaders of the Iriſh legiſlature either foreſaw, or did not. To preſume that they eſcaped their penetration would be utterly unwarrantable. From the charge therefore of having ſacrificed their country, or wilfully neglected its intereſts, they cannot poſſibly be reſcued. The penſions, it is true, were granted on the hereditary revenue; but parliament had unqueſtionably a right to control the application of that revenue.

Among the illuſive and inefficacious acts of the Iriſh parliament, ſome of the acts which relate to the fiſheries may alſo be reckoned; and likewiſe thoſe relating to mines and minerals. They all profeſſed to hold forth encouragement to the induſtrious and enterpriſing; but very few of them were in reality calculated to do ſo; as the framers of them, who had the example of England before their eyes, in all probability perceived.

Notwithſtanding the declaration of the ſagacious Sir William Temple, towards the latter end of the laſt century, "that the fiſhery of Ireland, if improved, would prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground," it was, like all the other valuable natural advantages of Ireland, no doubt deſignedly, neglected for a long ſeries of years.

After the following preamble, viz. "whereas the wealth and proſperity of this kingdom do, in a great degree, depend on the improvement and encouragement of its fiſheries; and whereas the laws now in being (thoſe of Ed. I., R. II., & C. I.) are defective in making proper regulations for carrying on the fiſhery to the great diſcouragement of perſons from undertaking ſo beneficial a branch of trade," &c. the 11 G. II. c. 14. which purported to be for the further improvement and encouragement

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ment of the fiſheries of Ireland, is limited to denouncing penalties for improper fiſhing, and offering premiums of twenty ſhillings per cwt. on whale fins, and ten ſhillings per tun on whale oil taken on the coaſt. In fact, it was not till the beginning of His preſent Majeſty's reign that the coaſt fiſhery of Ireland experienced the attention of the legiſlature. By the 3 G. III. c. 24. a bounty of 20 ſhillings annually, per ton, was given on Iriſh or Britiſh built veſſels fiſhing on the coaſt of Ireland, ſailing from ſome Iriſh port, and landing their fiſh in Ireland. By the ſame act, bounties were likewiſe given on hake, ling, mackarel, &c. exported. The fiſhing veſſels were to be decked, and not under 20 nor above 100 tons burden. The bounties, which were to continue ſeven years, were afterwards extended to fourteen years by 5 G. III. c. 7. This act had, in ſome degree, the welfare of England as well as that of Ireland in view. Beſides the bounties were not, comparatively ſpeaking, ſufficiently liberal. The Britiſh fiſhers, employed in the white-fiſhery, had an annual bounty of 30 ſhillings per ton on veſſels of from 20 to 30 tons burden, anterior to the 30 G. II. c. 30. which raiſed it to 50 ſhillings per ton. The Iriſh act, however, before mentioned, in conjunction with others of a more encouraging nature, which paſſed about the time when Iriſhmen, united and tranquil at home, began to grow impatient of the long continued commercial tyranny of England, had the effect of turning much of the induſtry of the country to its valuable fiſheries.

The river fiſheries of Ireland became objects of attention much about the time that its coaſt fiſheries became ſo. The 2 G. I. c. 21. inflicted a penalty of 20 ſhillings on perſons keeping or uſing ſpears, &c. for the deſtruction of ſalmon fry. But the penalty was trifling and the detection difficult. In England, only the year before this act, all perſons deſtroying the ſpawn or fry of ſalmon, or any other fiſh in any way, were by 1 G. II. c. 18. liable to a penalty of five pounds, as were thoſe who ſent to market or ſold ſalmon weighing leſs than ſix pounds. Thirty years after the paſſing of this Engliſh act, an act was paſſed in Ireland (viz. 31 G. II. c. 13.) ſubjecting to a penalty of five pounds all perſons fiſhing for ſalmon, between the 12th of Auguſt and 1ſt of February; and to a penalty of ten pounds all perſons ſetting nets or engines on pretence of taking eels between the 1ſt of March and 1ſt of June. The ſalmon fiſheries of Ireland, however, required further protection; wherefore at the time when it

it was in general contemplation to turn all the advantages of Ireland to good account, an act paſſed, viz. the 17th & 18th of His preſent Majeſty, c. 19., inflicting a penalty of five pounds on all perſons fiſhing for ſalmon with lights, or ſpearing them, &c. by night, or deſtroying the fry by dams or other implements; and alſo a penalty of ten pounds on perſons deſtroying ſalmon, trout, or other large fiſh, by day or night, by means of gaffs, ſpears, ſtrokalls, ſnares, &c. A penalty of twenty pounds was, by 23 & 24 G. III. c. 40., impoſed on thoſe proprietors of weirs who did not leave a clear ſpace of twenty-one feet in the deepeſt part of the river. And thus at length were the ſalmon fiſheries of Ireland protected.

Subſequently to the Revolution, there paſſed a few acts purporting to be for the encouragement of finding and working mines and minerals. But as no premiums nor pecuniary aid were offered, a very limited effect only was produced. They likewiſe related chiefly to coal mines. The 10th of G. I. c. 5., alluding to an act paſſed in the reign of Anne, obſerves, "that that act had not the full and deſired effect, although many mines and minerals have, ſince the paſſing of the ſame, been found out and diſcovered in this kingdom, ſome whereof have been wrought to the great advantage of the public, and many others, though found, have not been wrought by reaſon of the legal incapacities the perſons lie under, in whoſe eſtates they are." It then proceeds to regulations with regard to tenancy, moiety of ore, &c.

Before the commencement of the laſt century, when Ireland had ſtill ſome conſiderable tracts of woodland remaining, iron, in an unwrought ſtate, was exported from it, in conſiderable quantities, to England.

Dr. Boate, in his Natural Hiſtory, mentions many iron works in the province of Munſter, in the Queen's county, the counties of Roſcommon, Fermanagh, Clare, and Kilkenny, beſides ſeveral on the coaſt of Ulſter, in the reign of King Charles the Firſt. There were likewiſe ſome valuable iron works near Lough Conn, in the county of Mayo, later than theſe, and which were continued until the timber was exhauſted.

Sir William Petty ſays, that in 1672, there were 6,600 forges in Ireland, or, as he thinks, rather one-fifth more; that the men and women employed therein amounted to 22,500; and that 2000 perſons were employed in making iron. Under the then circumſtances of Ireland, when capi-

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tals were very ſcanty, and the purſuit of other ſorts of manufactures was probably as lucrative as that of iron, the latter appears thus to have given conſiderable employment to the induſtrious part of the Iriſh community. But this ſoon ceaſed to be the caſe. Indeed the employment which the iron works afforded to the people of Ireland had been greatly abridged, when Sir William Petty wrote, by the attendant circumſtances of the rebellion of 1641.

By an act paſſed in England, in the eighth year of William the Third, the duties on bar iron, and iron ſlit and hammered into rods, imported from Ireland, were taken off. Owing to the then depreſſed and inſulated condition of manufacturing induſtry in Ireland, this removal of duty naturally occaſioned a great run on the Iriſh timber; which, moreover, was conſtantly imported into England at the value, as ſtated in the book of rates, of 13s. 4d. the ton, and, conſequently, liable to ſcarcely any duty. The precarious ſtate, beſides, in which Ireland had long been, and the refuge which its foreſts afforded to criminals, outlaws, and thoſe who were hoſtile to the exiſting government, rendered the landlords careleſs with regard to the preſervation of their woods; or, rather, it ſhould ſeem, averſe to their exiſtence; for, in many old leaſes, clauſes are to be found requiring the tenants to uſe no other article for fuel but timber. The Engliſh companies too, or Engliſh directors or agents, by whom chiefly the iron buſineſs was conducted in Ireland, looking, as is uſual in ſimilar caſes, much more to preſent, than future gains, declined the expenſe and inconvenience of ſeaſonably ſecuring to themſelves a future ſupply of timber. In conſequence of all which a ſcarcity of that requiſite article ſoon enſued.

In order to put a ſtop to this improvident waſte, the parliament of Ireland, which was not at that time ſo completely deſtitute of patriotiſm as it ſoon afterwards proved, paſſed an act, viz. 10 W. III. c. 12., for planting and preſerving timber trees, and woods. The preamble to this act ſays, "Foraſmuch as by the late rebellion in this kingdom, and the ſeveral iron works formerly here, the timber is utterly deſtroyed, &c." This act was followed by ſeveral others of a ſimilar nature in the ſucceeding reigns: but none of them ſeemed calculated to urge the landholders to replace thoſe woods which were ſaid to have been utterly deſtroyed. The act juſt mentioned required that 260,600 trees ſhould be planted in Ireland, proportionately in the ſeveral counties; and laid heavy penalties on ſuch perſons as neglected

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lected to comply with the requisition. It also required proprietors and tenants to plant a certain number annually; and the persons or societies who had iron works, to plant 500 in each year during the continuance of their works. But the number of trees was inconsiderable, and no effect of an extensive and permanent nature appears to have been produced. The act too was defective, inasmuch as it did not provide against the waste of such few woods as still existed. Besides, the consumption of home-made iron and Irish timber was left unchecked by the importation of foreign iron and timber, as heavy duties on these last continued till 1703, when they were reduced to five shillings custom and five shillings excise per ton on iron, six-pence custom and six-pence excise per 1,000 on staves, one penny per 1,000 on hoops and laths, and one penny per barrel on bark. The same act (2 Anne, c. 2.) laid a duty of 2l. 10s. on every ton of timber and plank, five shillings on every 1,000 hoops or laths, and three pounds on every 1,000 staves exported, *except to England*: an exception which was calculated to render the act, in a great degree, abortive. Moreover, by the 4 Anne, c. 9. the penalties incurred by non-compliance with the requisitions in the 10 W. III. c. 12. were remitted to such as had not paid them; and further time was given to avoid them: in other words, the latter statute was virtually repealed. It was formerly so by the 8 G. I. c. 8., which acknowledged that the penalties of the act in question had proved ineffectual.

Thus was lost to Ireland a most valuable manufacture which, as appears by the evidence given before the lords of the committee of privy-council, in England, in 1785, employed, in that country, 200,000 people, and absorbed a capital of 12 millions sterling; a manufacture which, since that time, has been progressively extending and improving, and which, notwithstanding its increased extent, does not yet consume the whole of the raw material actually produced in a country which, as is evident by the act before noticed, was deficient therein about a century ago: for the average value of unmanufactured iron annually exported from Britain, during the six years ended 5th January 1806, appears to have been 98,692l. * The quantity of foreign iron imported for the manufacture of those articles, for

* From the Newspapers.

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which Britiſh iron is leſs fit, is, no doubt, very great; but ſtill the quantity produced at home is infinitely greater than it was.

And thus alſo, through the want of becoming exertions on the part of the Iriſh parliament, did Ireland loſe two of the moſt important articles (timber and iron) requiſite to enable her to be the carrier of her own commodities to foreign markets. Had Ireland continued in poſſeſſion of theſe, there is no country in the world where capital could have been better employed in the building and outfit of ſhips: for, in addition to what ſhe can ſtill boaſt of, the beſt proviſions for long voyages, and the beſt ſail-cloth in the Britiſh dominions, ſhe would have had the beſt and moſt durable timber that can be any where found, and as good iron as almoſt any country furniſhes *.

Had the Britiſh parliament ſeaſonably prohibited the importation of Iriſh timber, as it did that of Iriſh cattle, had it been as aſſiduous to prevent the exportation of that article to other countries, as it was to prevent the exportation of Iriſh wool, and had it compelled the Iriſh parliament to concur in meaſures for preſerving the woods of Ireland, as it did to lend a helping hand in annihilating the Iriſh woollen manufactures, there would probably, at this day, have been open in Ireland a ſource of prodigious wealth, to the manifeſt benefit of the empire at large. But to act thus was utterly inconſiſtent with the nature of that ſyſtem which the Britiſh government ſeemed bent on purſuing with regard to Ireland.

In conſequence, partly of the loſs of the two moſt eſſential articles in ſhip-building, and partly of that tardy accumulation of capital which the reſtrictions on the Iriſh commerce were calculated to occaſion, the people of Britain became the principal carriers of the produce of Ireland to foreign markets: or, it may be ſaid, almoſt engroſſed that branch of trade. In the year ended 5th January 1807, there were built and regiſtered in Ireland only 41 veſſels, the aggregate tonnage whereof amounted to no more than 1,687 tons, or about 41 tons, on an average, each. The num-

* The Iriſh ſalt beef has frequently been deemed ſuperior to that of England, eſpecially when both are kept for an unuſual length of time. The ſail-cloth made at Douglas, in the neighbourhood of Cork, has long been experimentally found to ſurpaſs all others in ſtrength. The durability of Iriſh oak is well known. And the ſuperior quality of ſome of the Iriſh iron has been evinced by the celebrated mineralogiſt Mr. Kirwan.

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ber of veſſels belonging to the ſeveral ports of Ireland, on the 30th September 1806, was only 1,074, meaſuring 55,545, or under 51¾ tons each, which is leſs than the tonnage of the ſhipping belonging to Whitehaven alone *. The tonnage of Iriſh veſſels which entered inwards into the ſeveral ports of Ireland, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was only 107,703, while that of Britiſh veſſels was 652,946. And the tonnage of Iriſh veſſels which cleared outwards was only 97,856, while that of Britiſh veſſels was 615,702 †; which laſt, being added to the tonnage of the Britiſh ſhips which entered inwards, makes a total amounting to 1,268,648 tons, yielding to the ſhip-owners of Britain, at only 1l. 10s. per ton, 1,902,972l. ‡, a profit which, it is hoped, will not, in conjunction with other unbecoming conſiderations, have the effect of precluding thoſe requiſite aids, to the people of Ireland, which alone are wanting to enable them to ſupply themſelves with Iriſh coal, and thus ſave the annual expenditure of about 700,000l. a-year on that article §.

As a ſupplement to this ſection, it may be obſerved, that, in eight years, there paſſed in England no leſs than 1,124 acts for bridges, roads, canals, harbours, draining, incloſing, paving, &c. ‖, which was ten times more than all the acts for internal improvement, encouragement of induſtry, advancement of trade, or ſupport of manufactures, that paſſed in Ireland from the Revolution to the eſtabliſhment of Iriſh national independence, being a period of near one hundred years; and of theſe a great many were illuſive, nugatory, and ineffectual; ſome were merely explanatory of foregoing

* The number of ſhips belonging to the ſeveral ports of England and Scotland, in the year ended September 1806, being 17,658, was upwards of 16 times greater than the number belonging to Ireland, though the current value of Britiſh produce and manufactures exported was not five times greater; and the average tonnage of theſe veſſels was above 113 tons, while that of the Iriſh veſſels was under 52.

† See table in the Appendix marked XII.

‡ The medium of the prices of freight to the Weſt Indies and to Britain, from Ireland, being about 2l. 19s. per ton, and ſeveral of the veſſels which enter and depart, chiefly from the ſouthern ports of Ireland, having but a very ſmall proportion of Iriſh goods on board, and the majority of the ſhipping being employed in the coal trade, 1l. 10s. per ton may be conſidered as the average gain of the Britiſh ſhip-owners in the Iriſh trade.

§ The number of tons of coal imported into Ireland in the year ended 5th Jan. 1808, was 491,239, worth 785,981l. 19s. the average price being in Dublin, as the writer was informed by an eminent coal factor there, 1l. 12s. per ton.

‖ Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 311.

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ones; and ſeveral were requiſite ſupplements to others. Ireland was unimproved and uncultivated. Its aſpect was wild and dreary. Its labouring poor were ſlothful, miſerable, and totally deſtitute of all thoſe comforts which the ſame claſs in England rank among the neceſſaries of life. Its trade, with the exception of the linen manufacture, was almoſt limited to the export of its redundant beef, butter, pork, tallow, hides, and cattle; and the import of that corn which it was not encouraged to grow, of thoſe manufactures which it was diſcouraged or reſtrained from engaging in, and of thoſe other conſumable articles of luxury which the higher claſſes alone enjoyed the means of purchaſing.

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SECTION V.

Britiſh Acts, occaſioned by Neceſſity, favourable to the Export Trade of Ireland.

SUCH was the prevalence of that ſpirit of commercial jealouſy which operated in Britain, ſuch its influence on the deciſions of the legiſlature, and ſo little guided were the ſtateſmen of Britain by juſt and liberal notions of commerce, and of the true intereſts of their ſovereign's dominions, that the ſtatute-book of that country, containing many acts hoſtile to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, preſents not a ſingle one from the Revolution, to the date of Iriſh independence, calculated to promote its trade, except thoſe few which appear to have owed their origin to downright neceſſity; and which, therefore, cannot evidently be conſidered as boons by the people of Ireland.

The firſt of theſe acts, worth noticing, was the one already alluded to, 8th and 9th W. III. c. 20., which permitted the importation of Iriſh bar iron unwrought, and iron ſlit or hammered into rods free of all duties. The motive which induced this permiſſion is thus diſcloſed in the preamble of the ſection which contains the permiſſion: "Whereas the ſcarcity and dearneſs of iron in this kingdom, have of late much diſcouraged the manufactures thereof, in which great numbers of poor are employed," &c.

The next act, or rather ſeries of acts, favourable to the export trade of Ireland, and originating in the neceſſities of Britain, and the only remaining ones which it is neceſſary to notice here, are thoſe by which the proviſions and cattle of Ireland were re-admitted into England. By the 18 C. II. c. 2. the importation of great cattle, ſheep, and ſwine, beef, pork and bacon from Ireland was, as before noticed, declared a common nuiſance, and forbid on pain of forfeiture. The 32 C. II. c. 2. extended the forfeiture to mutton, lamb, butter and cheeſe, and continued it for ever. So much, however, of the act as related to bacon was repealed by 5th and 6th W. & M. c. 2. At this time beef, butter, pork, cheeſe, and candles were permitted to be exported from England free from any duty,

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duty, by 3 W. & M. c. 8. The prohibitory act juſt mentioned would, no doubt, as its authors intended, have continued in force to this day, had not the neceſſities of the people of England required its ſuſpenſion. The 31 G. II. c. 28. prefaces a permiſſion to import Iriſh ſalted beef, pork, and butter into England, for ſix months, with ſtating that ſuch permiſſion would be of great advantage to both kingdoms. It certainly was ſo to England. The duties on the importation of corn had been diſcontinued for a limited time the year before; the exportation of corn and meal was prohibited from the plantations in America to any place except Great Britain or Ireland; the exportation of corn, &c. from England was alſo prohibited, as well as the making of low wines and ſpirits from malt or grain, for a limited time. In ſhort, food had become ſcarce, and a proſpect of its continuing ſo induced the legiſlature to continue the prohibition on the export of corn from England, and the making of ſpirits; and likewiſe the permiſſion to import Iriſh beef until the 24th of December 1759, after acknowledging that ſuch permiſſion had been found uſeful and beneficial. By 32 G. II. c. 12., the free importation of Iriſh tallow was continued five years, under the perſuaſion of its tending to the eaſe of the public; as was the free importation of Iriſh cattle, by 32 G. II. c. 11., under the perſuaſion before expreſſed of its being of great advantage to both kingdoms. The 33 G. II. c. 5. continued the permiſſion to import Iriſh proviſions till December 1760; and 33 G. II. c. 4. further prohibited the making of ſpirits *. "Almoſt every year from the demiſe of George the Second," ſays Mr. Chalmers, "a law paſſed allowing the importation of ſalted proviſions from Ireland, till in the progreſs of our liberality we made thoſe regulations perpetual which were only temporary †."

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* Live cattle exported from Ireland, in

four years, ended 25th March 1756,			116	four years, ended 25th March 1764,			9577
Beef,	-	do.	barrels	654,101	do.	-	-	783,476
Butter,	-	do.	cwts.	825,228	do.	-	-	950,257
Pork,	-	do.	barrels	139,641	do.	-	-	196,405

Exceſs in the latter period, cattle 9,461
beef, 129,375 barrels
butter, 125,029 cwts
pork, 56,764 barrels
} The preſent official value whereof is 559,855l. being 134,963l. 15s. on an average each year.

† Eſtimate, p. 145.

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How far we Iriſhmen are to aſcribe this permiſſion to the operation of principles of liberality in Britain, the various ſtatutes already noticed ſufficiently ſhew us. And as for the ſubſequent liberation of our trade, and eſtabliſhment of our legiſlative independence, Iriſhmen who advert to the ſpirit and unanimity of the volunteers in 1779 and 1782, can ſcarcely fail to experience a conſiderable diminution of their gratitude for theſe boons to Britain. The truth is, that had it not been for want in the former caſe, and fear in the latter, on the part of Britain, we ſhould, in 1800, have been in no reſpect better than fifty years before: and to want and fear, it is certain that many Iriſhmen look for ſuch further improvements of their condition, as may be neceſſary; rather than to liberality, or ſound policy, the effects whereof they have certainly not been in the habit of experiencing.

The intellegent reader who will carefully compare the acts which have been brought under conſideration, in the foregoing ſections, with thoſe ſucceſſive meaſures which have been purſued in every European country, diſtinguiſhed by commercial proſperity, and more eſpecially in Britain, with the view of exciting and foſtering a national ſpirit of induſtry and enterpriſe, perpetually operating in the improvement of the various natural advantages of a country, perpetually employed in developing its ſources of wealth, and eliciting the utmoſt benefits from the gifts of nature, will ſurely find but little ground for ſurpriſe that Ireland did not long ago become, what the ſagacious Sir William Temple affirmed ſhe was qualified to become, "one of the richeſt countries in Europe, and a "mighty acceſſion of ſtrength and revenue to the crown of England." The reader who has duly reflected on the neceſſary effects of theſe different acts, acts which amount to a ſufficient proof that the legiſlature of Britain, on the one hand, perſeveringly aimed at the repreſſion of a ſpirit of induſtry in Ireland; and that, on the other, a majority of the Iriſh legiſlature, regardleſs of the welfare of their country, either criminally ſeconded, or baſely acquieſced in its efforts, can ſcarcely be ſurpriſed at the vaſt actual inferiority of Ireland to Britain, in point of commercial proſperity, notwithſtanding the tranſcendent advantages of the former, and the rapidity which marked the augmentation of her wealth, after her rights had been ſpiritedly and ſucceſsfully aſſerted. And the reader who will conſider theſe acts, in conjunction with the circumſtances which ſhall be

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expoſed in the following part, will doubtleſs find little heſitation in concurring with the writer in this opinion, that the melancholy ſpectacle of national imbecillity, comparative poverty, and general miſery, which Ireland long exhibited, was but the natural reſult of this combination: a combination ſufficiently calculated not only to produce this effect, but to occaſion, at leaſt to a certain degree, the depopulation of the country; and which it probably would have done, had not the miſchievous contrivances of man been happily counteracted and defeated by the beneficent interpoſition of God.

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PART III.

OF THE REMOTE CAUSE WHICH EVENTUALLY OPERATED IN FRUSTRATING THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND.

SECTION I.

Origin and Progreſs of Religious Animoſity in Ireland.

THE ſucceſſive acts which conduced to render almoſt abortive the various natural advantages of Ireland having, it is hoped, been ſufficiently illuſtrated in the preceding ſections, we are now to take a view of the origin and progreſs of that diſunion, among the Iriſh people, which tended to facilitate ſyſtematic oppreſſion on the part of the legiſlature of Britain; and not only to extinguiſh a becoming ſpirit of reſiſtance to that oppreſſion, but to create a diſpoſition to concur therein, on the part of the legiſlature of Ireland.

This fatal diſunion was occaſioned and perpetuated by an incongruity of religious tenets.

A diverſity of opinion, with regard to the ſpeculative articles, rites and obſervances of religion, which, in truth, have very little, if any real connexion with the affairs of ſocial life, is certainly by no means to be deprecated, as a probable ſource of national miſery, unleſs ſuch diverſity be inſidiouſly connected with the political affairs of the country. When thus unhappily combined, it becomes, indeed, a moſt lamentable evil. The revolutions, changes, and commotions incident, in a greater or leſs degree, to all countries, render it, almoſt inevitably, pregnant with calamitous effects, proportioned in magnitude and duration to the extent and recurrence of theſe.

The hiſtory of Europe ſhews that the effects of different religious opinions, vitiated by their union with the paſſions which predominate in the political world, ambition and avarice, have been, not merely to imbitter ſocial life, but to abate, if not annihilate a ſpirit of rational liberty, to

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blind and paraliſe governments, to kindle and keep alive the moſt deſtructive internal wars, and ultimately to bring religion itſelf into diſrepute.

The hiſtory of Ireland may be ſaid to exhibit little elſe than a mournful ſeries of calamities iſſuing from a ſtrict combination of religion, politics and paſſion. This diſaſtrous combination has ſubſiſted in Ireland for near two hundred years. The political events and viciſſitudes which characterize the Iriſh annals ſtrongly tended to confirm it. And the meaſures and practices, conſequent on theſe, had the neceſſary effect of giving birth and energy to that ruthleſs religious enmity, among the Iriſh people, which ſo powerfully operated in diſtracting, debiliting and diſgracing their country, in a peculiar and moſt deplorable manner.

At the time when other European nations were ſeceding from the church of Rome, there were no inducements to religious innovation in Ireland. The Iriſh were ſatisfied with the religion of their anceſtors. The Proteſtant religion was promulgated among them under ſignal diſadvantages.

In other countries, the uſurpations and exactions of aſpiring and avaricious popes, the pretenſions and refractorineſs of arrogant prelates alarmed and irritated thoſe who exerciſed the ſovereign power. The wealth, luxury, ſloth, and profligacy of the clergy, in general, excited envy, contempt and diſguſt. The mutual obloquies of the Antipopes, and the ſcandalous practices of the court of Rome, made deep impreſſions on the public mind. Literature, with its concomitant ſpirit of enquiry, began to ſpread among the laity. And finally, under the auſpices of the powerful, and in the midſt of circumſtances eminently propitious to its progreſs, the work of religous innovation was undertaken, purſued, and, wherever a local ſpirit of liberty lent its aid, accompliſhed.

But in Ireland, the arrogated authority of the Roman Pontiffs, to which, by the way, the rough unmanageable Iriſh Septarchs appear to have ſlowly and reluctantly ſubmitted *, was exerciſed comparatively without offence. Thoſe who were veſted with the powers of government were neither inſulted nor contravened by imperious eccleſiaſtics. The wealth of the church was not coveted by prodigal or avaricious Princes, nor ſought after by rapacious courtiers. The morals of the clergy had not

* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 94.

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become ſubjects of general reprobation. The extraordinary piety, benevolence and learning for which the Culdees, or primitive monks of Ireland have been celebrated *, had, it is true, ceaſed to adorn the Catholic religion; its antiquity, however, implying the continuous reſpect of ſucceſſive generations, not being counteracted by adverſe circumſtances, was perhaps not leſs inſtrumental than their virtues and talents would have been, in rendering it an object of high veneration among the Iriſh people. The crimes which had diſgraced the pontifical tiara, and the enormities of the contending popes were almoſt wholly unknown in Ireland. It was too remote from the theatre of theſe abominations, and, in every reſpect, too much detached from the reſt of Europe, to experience thoſe effects which they produced on the continent. The monkiſh ſuperſtitions, deluſions and abſurdities, and the heatheniſh rites, and other abuſes by which the Roman Catholic religion was ſo lamentably vitiated, in the dark ages, were far from being utterly unſuitable to the rude, ferocious and lawleſs inhabitants of Ireland. Learning was confined within the cloiſters. Inquiry was neither encouraged nor facilitated. Nor, though licentiouſneſs was prevalent, did a ſpirit of liberty exiſt. In ſhort, none of the various motives, by which other nations were urged, or gradually diſpoſed to ſeparate themſelves from the Romiſh communion, operated in Ireland. All deſcriptions of the Iriſh ſubmitted blindly and heartily to the guidance and dictates of the Roman Catholic prieſthood.

Such was the condition of Ireland when the new religion of England was announced to the natives of the former: a religion which they were evidently unprepared to embrace; and which, moreover, was completely deſtitute of the ſupport it required. Its miniſters did not dignify it, in Ireland, by ſtriking inſtances of auſterity or fortitude. They did not propagate it by ſuperior zeal, learning, or addreſs. They were neither competent, nor do they appear to have been even ſolicitous to forward its reception. Beſides, it was far from being uniformly countenanced by the chief governors of Ireland †. It was haſtily eſtabliſhed by law. It was peremptorily obtruded on a bigotted people. The Roman Catholic Iriſh were required to relinquiſh their ancient form of worſhip, and follow the new one of the Proteſtant Engliſh; without being previouſly alienated

* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 94. 103. 107.

† Lord Strafford's letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury 14th October, 1633.

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from the former by a perception of its errors, or allured to the latter by the virtues, talents, and examples of its miniſters. They were required to renounce the religion of their forefathers, and to embrace the religion of ſtrangers; a religion profeſſed, in Ireland, excluſively by the ſucceſſors of thoſe adventurers and invaders by whom the native Iriſh had been plundered and cruelly oppreſſed *; by the ſucceſſors of thoſe who, for a vaſt ſeries of years, had effectually endeavoured, under the impulſe of deſpotick principles, accompanied by political improvidence, to exclude them from the operation of thoſe equal Engliſh laws by which they ardently deſired to be governed †; thus keeping them expoſed, without a poſſibility of legal redreſs, to their own extortions, encroachments and ſanguinary exceſſes. The Roman Catholic clergy, invariably reſpected and beloved by the laity, both on account of their ſacred office and their birth ‡, were authoritatively ſupplanted for adhering to their ancient faith. And the religious houſes of Ireland precipitately ſuppreſſed, without any proviſion being made, as in England, for thoſe multitudes of paupers who were thus bereft of their cuſtomary means of ſupport §. In the midſt of ſuch peculiarly inauſpicious circumſtances, the extremely limited progreſs which the Proteſtant religion made in Ireland, while it was rapidly gaining ground in England, can afford no matter of ſurpriſe.

If before the Roman Catholic and Proteſtant religions had become intimately blended with contrarious political views, Ireland had been wiſely and ſteadily governed; if the native Iriſh had been ſcrupulouſly protected and aſſiduouſly conciliated; and if, in early times, the Iriſh Proteſtant divines had been as conſpicuous for piety, learning and zeal as thoſe of England were, it ſeems not altogether improbable that their religion would, in the courſe of time, have triumphed over that of Rome, notwithſtanding the habitual reſpect of the Iriſh for the latter; for, as we learn from Sir John Davies, they did actually, in compliance with the will of Henry VIII.

* Sir John Davies's Hiſtory of Ireland, *paſſim*.

† Id. p. 81. 83. 102.

‡ Eccleſiaſtical dignities, with their appropriate revenues, were enjoyed as appanages by the principal native Iriſh families. See Ledwich's Antiquities.

§ The poor laws of England which, it muſt be confeſſed, have, at length, become an intolerable grievance, were dictated by a ſpirit of humanity, which the Engliſh ſeem to have totally loſt on being tranſplanted into Ireland.

" *confeſs*

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"*confeſs the ſupremacy of the King in all caſes, and utterly renounce the pope's juriſdiction* *."

But anterior to the reign of that ſhrewd politician, Henry VII. the Kings of England were, generally ſpeaking, too deeply involved in their wars with France, Scotland and Wales, and in thoſe of the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter, to attain, in perſon, an accurate knowledge of the real circumſtances of their Iriſh lordſhip; or at leaſt to carry into effect ſuch permanent meaſures as were ſuitable to them. Beſides, they were ſometimes counteracted, and frequently deceived by the miſchevious miſrepreſentations of their ſervants and creatures †, whoſe political conduct in Ireland exhibited, with few intervals, a ſtrange tiſſue of imbecility, contumacy, degeneracy, tyranny, impolicy and injuſtice; the lamentable effects whereof were by no means completely effaced, when the fatal rupture between the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants commenced. As for the clergy of the latter, their profeſſional conduct, for nearly a century after the legal eſtabliſhment of their religion in Ireland, appears to have been diſtinguiſhed chiefly by inactivity and indifference; and, in other reſpects, to have afforded much ground for animadverſion ‡.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there happened, as Sir John Davies ſays, three notorious and main rebellions of the Iriſh. Two in Ulſter, headed by Shane O'Neal and Tyrone, chieftains of an aboriginal Iriſh family which had exerciſed regal powers in that province. And the third in Munſter, projected by Deſmond, an Anglo-Hibernian lord §.

Of theſe rebellions, religion was certainly not the only, nor indeed the principal cauſe. Prieſts and Jeſuits, it is true, were actively employed, on both occaſions, in rouſing the Iriſh to arms. But theſe incendiaries were, for the moſt part, emiſſaries and agents of Philip, the implacable foe of Elizabeth. Well grounded apprehenſions of ill-uſage, oppreſſion and deſpoliation, together with a natural deſire to re-eſtabliſh the ancient independence and power of the princely houſe of O'Neal, and extend it over all Ireland, were the motives of the two former rebellions. Pride,

* Sir John Davies's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 165. † Id. p. 160.

‡ An avaricious alienation of Epiſcopal lands, a neglect of due decorum in the celebration of matrimony, and other deviations from duty, on the part of the Proteſtant clergy of Ireland, were complained of by Lord Strafford, in his correſpondence with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. § Id.

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perſonal conſiderations, and the luſt of power and wealth occaſioned the latter.

The religion of the church of England having made no progreſs among the native Iriſh, the inſurgents were all Roman Catholics. A conſiderable portion of the Engliſh armies, by whom they were ſubdued, were Proteſtants. Among individuals belonging to theſe, and among other Engliſh Proteſtant adventurers and undertakers, vaſt tracts of the confiſcated lands of the Roman Catholic inſurgents were diſtributed *: and ſome time after, a large colony of Proteſtants was planted, under circumſtances of great rigour, in the northern counties, where the deſcendants of the ancient Iriſh had longeſt preſerved the domains of their anceſtors †.

Thus was laid the foundation of that inveterate, ruthleſs, religious enmity, which has been the peculiar curſe of Ireland for two hundred years. The Roman Catholic and Proteſtant religions now begun to be connected with adverſe political objects. The idea of an inſatiable plunderer now began to be aſſociated with the idea of a Proteſtant, in the mind of a Roman Catholic; the idea of a refractory vindictive rebel with the idea of a Roman Catholic, in the mind of a proteſtant: and ſuch were the unfortunate events which ſoon followed, that, before the lapſe of half a century, theſe aſſociations experienced an acceſſion of almoſt every idea that can inflame and exaſperate mankind, excite and give deſtructive energy to every malevolent paſſion by which human nature has been deformed.

In the year 1641, when the Iriſh Proteſtants were momentally weakened by the united agency of various internal and external cauſes, the hoſtile diſpoſition of the deſpoiled Roman Catholics became practically manifeſt by a rebellion, which commenced with the horrid maſſacre of ſeveral thouſands of the former ‡.

Of this rebellion religious enmity was, no doubt, an efficient cauſe; but confeſſedly not the only, nor, perhaps, the principal one, notwithſtanding

* 2,836,837 plantation acres, or nearly the whole of the province of Ulſter, was forfeited in Elizabeth's reign; 574,628 acres were, according to Moryſon, forfeited by the rebellion of Deſmond.

† Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 157. Of this colony, Sir John Davies ſpeaks, perhaps prophetically, thus: "It will aſſure Ireland to the crown of England for ever; and finally make it a civil, and a rich, a mighty and a flouriſhing kingdom." Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 192.

‡ Sir W. Petty ſays near 40,000; other authors more; and others much leſs.

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this truculent evidence of its excluſive operation. An ardent and natural deſire to recover the lands of which their immediate anceſtors had been deprived, precipitated into rebellion ſeveral whoſe perſonal influence was extenſive, or whoſe hereditary controul ſtill virtually ſubſiſted *. Some became rebellious with a view to repairing their diſſipated fortunes †; others were juſtly alarmed and alienated from the government by the vexatious inquiſition ſet on foot by lord Strafforde ‡; and many were impelled to have recourſe to arms by the unſeaſonable ſeverity of the lords juſtices Parſons and Borlaſe §.. The Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, with whoſe former loyalty the government was well ſatisfied ‖, were not at firſt engaged in the rebellion, nor, probably, would ever have been ſo, but for the then exiſting combination of circumſtances ¶.

To exterminate the proteſtants was the common object of all the leaders of the Roman Catholic rebels; not, however, under the impulſe of pure zeal for their own religion, and a conſcientious abhorrence of that of their enemies; but becauſe, in the caſe of the laity, the Proteſtants poſſeſſed the confiſcated eſtates which had belonged to the Roman Catholic Iriſh; and becauſe, in the caſe of the clergy, the former enjoyed thoſe eccleſiaſtical

* Roger Moore, whoſe family, in the reign of Elizabeth, had been deprived of great poſſeſſions in the province of Leinſter, appears to have been the author or chief projector of this rebellion. He is repreſented as a man of uncommon addreſs, and in all reſpects qualified for the undertaking in which he engaged. His firſt and principal endeavours were directed to inſtigate, in the north, thoſe Iriſh chieftains, the grandeur of whoſe families had fallen with that of his own, or had been impaired by inconſiderate prodigality.

† Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 95, 96.

‡ Coxe's Hiſtory of Ireland, part ii. p. 58.

§ Clanrickard's Memoirs, preface.

‖ "That part of the Iriſh," ſays lord Clarendon, "which inhabited the Pale, ſo called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of Engliſh extraction, ſince the firſt plantation of the Engliſh, many ages paſt. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous cuſtoms of the Iriſh, and were as ſtupidly tranſported with the higheſt ſuperſtition of the Romiſh religion, yet they had always ſteadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good ſubjects during all thoſe rebellions which the whole reign of queen Elizabeth was ſeldom without." Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 156.

¶ That the rebellion did not originate in religious enmity alone, is ſufficiently evinced by the Lords Juſtices' proclamation of the 8th February 1642, containing an apology to the Roman Catholics of the Pale for having, in a former proclamation, denounced the Iriſh papiſts as rebels, without due diſcrimination.

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revenues which the latter eagerly fought to recover *. Ambition and avarice were the predominant principles of action, not merely among the rebel military chiefs; but among thoſe who profeſſed themſelves the ſervants of that exalted archetype of humility and innocence, the bleſſed Saviour of mankind.

The rebels were, with few exceptions, Roman Catholics: their opponents were Proteſtants. The horror excited by the barbarous indiſcriminate maſſacre which had recently been perpetrated, heightened almoſt to madneſs the ſectarian malignancy of the latter; and this malignancy, ſublimated, as it were, and combined with revenge, avarice, and fear of utter extirpation, neceſſarily hurried them into the moſt ſavage hoſtility. While the impoſing devices of prieſtcraft, the animating appeals of patriotiſm, the diverſified artifices of ambition, the piteous wailings of poverty, and the pathetic tales of misfortune, conjointly operating on a people ſuſceptible of the moſt lively impreſſions, inſtigated the former to deeds of extraordinary ferocity. Each party became infuriate againſt the other by a ſeries of battles, and multiplied acts of rapine and barbarity.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit: lateque vagatur
Enſis: et a nullo revocatum eſt pectore ferrum.
Stat cruor in templis: multâque rubentia cæde
Lubrica ſaxa madent. Nulli ſua profuit ætas.
Non ſenis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Precipitâſſe diem, nec primo in limine vitæ
Infantis miſeri naſcentia rumpere fata. Lucan. l. i.

Truces were deceitful. Reciprocal hatred and diſtruſt were exceſſive. Reconciliation ſeemed to have become impracticable. The permanent coexiſtence of Iriſh proteſtants and Roman Catholics appeared almoſt impoſſible. Each thirſted for the blood; each aimed at the utter extermination of the other. At length the conquering arm of Cromwell terminated the long, diſaſtrous and devaſtating conteſt.

* "The cauſe of the war," ſays ſir William Petty, "was a deſire of the Romiſts to recover the church revenue, worth about 110,000l. a-year, and of the common Iriſh to get all the Engliſhmen's eſtates; and of 10 or 12 grandees to get the empire of the whole." Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 313.

"Whereas,"

" Whereas," ſays ſir William Petty, " the preſent proportion of the Britiſh is as 3 to 11; but before the wars the proportion was leſs, viz. as 2 to 11; and then it follows that the number of Britiſh ſlain in 11 years, was 112,000 ſouls, of which I gueſs two-thirds to have periſhed by war, plague, and famine. So as it follows that 37,000 were maſſacred in the firſt year of tumults: ſo as thoſe who think 154,000 were ſo deſtroyed, ought to review the grounds of their opinion.

It follows alſo that above 504,000 of the Iriſh periſhed, and were waſted by the ſword, plague, famine, hardſhip, and baniſhment, between the 23d of October 1641, and the ſame day 1652.

If Ireland had continued in peace for the ſaid 11 years, then the 1,446,000 had increaſed by generation, in that time, 73,000 more, making in all 1,519,000, which were, by the ſaid wars, brought, *anno* 1652, to 850,000; ſo that there were loſt 689,000 ſouls, for whoſe blood ſomebody ſhould anſwer both to God and the king.

Anno 1653, debentures were freely and openly ſold for 4s. and 5s. per pound. And 20s. of debenture, one place with another, did purchaſe two acres of land, at which rate all the land of Ireland, if it were eight millions of profitable acres, might have been had for a million of money, which, *anno* 1641, was worth above eight millions.

The cattle and ſtock was, *anno* 1641, worth above four millions; but *anno* 1652, the people of Dublin fetched meat from Wales, there being none here, and the whole cattle of Ireland not worth 500,000l.

Corn was then at 50s. per *barrel*, which is now, and was *anno* 1641, under 12s.

The houſes of Ireland, *anno* 1641, were worth two millions and a half; but *anno* 1652, not worth 500,000l.

The 20 years' rent of all the land forfeited, by reaſon of the ſaid rebellion, viz. ſince the year 1652 to 1673, hath not fully defrayed the charge of the Engliſh army in Ireland for the ſaid time; nor doth the ſaid rents, at this day, do the ſame with half as much more, or above 100,000l. *per annum* more *."

But though a further effuſion of blood, and a continuation of the ravages and calamities of war, were thus prevented, the mutual enmity of the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics ſtill continued unabated. That of the latter

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, pages 312-13-14-15-16.

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was immenſely aggravated, and effectually confirmed. The invaders, the victors, the diſpoſſeſſors, were Proteſtants; the invaded, the vanquiſhed, the diſpoſſeſſed, were Roman Catholics. Their reſpective intereſts were repugnant. Their manners and habits were diſſimilar. Their languages were different. Their ſentiments were incompatible. Their principles were irreconcileable. And each brooded inceſſantly over the paſt atrocities of the other. The projects of ambitious rebels had been fruſtrated; the expectations of avaricious rebels balked; the lands of opulent rebels confiſcated in millions of acres *; and all became a prey to the wildeſt deſpair imaginable. Thus was their hatred ſharpened to the utmoſt, and their deſire of revenge to the utmoſt quickened. And thus did the elements of inteſtine war acquire additional energy. Peace, however, reſulting, not from a terrifying retroſpect of the multitudinous evils of war, but from a conſcious inability, on the part of the Roman Catholics, to contend againſt the proteſtants, with even the fainteſt proſpect of ſucceſs, continued for upwards of thirty years.

At length the infatuated James, yielding to the impolitic counſels of men who, perhaps, might have governed a religious fraternity well, but who were utterly ignorant of the government of an empire; and taught to regard the Iriſh Roman Catholics as fit inſtruments for the accompliſhment of his viſionary and deſpotic projects, gradually raiſed, invigorated, and encouraged them.

By the obſequious forbearance, or conſtrained acquieſcence of Clarendon, and the indefatigable exertions of the zealous and plenipotent Tyrconnel, they were once more prepared to renew the terrible conflict †; and animated by no ordinary combination of forcible motives, recurred to arms; after incautiouſly co-operating with their bigoted ſovereign, in perſecuting their Proteſtant countrymen without meaſure and without remorſe; and thus, in ſome degree, juſtifying that ſevere retaliation which they themſelves were ſoon after to experience.

Eheu,
Quam temere in noſmet legem ſancimus iniquam ‡.

* "Upon the final execution of the acts of ſettlement and explnaation, it appears by the Down ſurvey, that 7,800,000 acres of land were ſet out by the court of Claims, principally, if not wholly, in excluſion of the old Iriſh proprietors." *Earl of Clare's ſpeech, 23d March* 1793.

† Clarendon's Letters paſſim.

‡ Hor. L. 1. S. 2.

But

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But England was not then, as on the preceding occaſion, paraliſed by internal commotions. The prince who had aſcended the abdicated throne was an experienced general and a ſound politician. The viſionary James was greatly overmatched. The Iriſh Roman Catholics were, in conſequence, completely vanquiſhed; ſtripped of political power; hurled from every poſt of truſt and emolument; and almoſt entirely diſpoſſeſſed of their remaining lands *.

The work of vengeance, however, was not yet finiſhed: nor could it perhaps have terminated thus, conſiſtently with the weakneſs and wickedneſs inſeparable from human nature. The Iriſh Proteſtants, ſtill horrified by the remembrance of the ferocious maſſacre of 1641; recollecting the havoc and miſery of the long war which ſucceeded that event; dreading a repetition of the tyrannical meaſures, the relentleſs and, for the moſt part, unprovoked perſecution from which they had been recently reſcued; and a renewal of thoſe bloody ſcenes which they had juſt ſurvived; yielding, in ſhort, to the united impulſe of revenge and fear, and thereby hurried beyond the bounds of political honour and prudence, reſorted, in the following reign, when they were rather encouraged to do ſo, to every expedient which legiſlative ingenuity could ſupply, however likely to prove ultimately detrimental to themſelves, with a view of reducing their inveterate enemies, the Roman Catholics, to abſolute and irremediable political impotence.

A code of defenſive and preventive ſtatutes, bearing the ſtamp of the paſſions by which it was originated, was in the end compiled: a code which was not merely limited to the preclufion of hoſtilities, on the part of the Roman Catholics; but extended to the abolition of their venerated religion; which, in Ireland, had ſcarcely ever been fairly combated by the only weapons that ever ſhould have been employed againſt it, the pens or tongues and attractive examples of Proteſtants: a code which impeded the progreſs of the former in the paths of induſtry; thwarted every ſpecies of laudable ambition by which they might have been actuated; placed them on the footing of aliens in their native land; expoſed them to vexations, outrages and ſpoliation; reduced them almoſt to the condition of ſlaves;

* The forfeitures, on this occaſion, amounted to 1,060,792 Iriſh, or 1,718,307 Engliſh acres. "There goes," ſaid Louis XIV. as King James paſſed by, "my worthy brother, who has loſt three kingdoms for a maſs."

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obſtructed matrimonial alliances between them and the Proteſtants, from whence, it is probable, the happieſt effects might have flowed; and, worſe than all, held forth incitements to filial contumacy, to a violation of one of the commandments of God; and introduced among them principles of duplicity and treachery *. A code, which, while it oppreſſed, and ſeemed to overwhelm the Roman Catholics, facilitated the obtruſion of thoſe jealous meaſures, thoſe commercial reſtraints which had long the effect of retaining one of the faireſt portions of the globe in a ſtate of poverty and political inſignificance †.

The maſſacre of 1641, which had been induſtriouſly exhibited in the moſt horrifying colours, together with the cruel perſecution experienced during the ſhort reign of King James in Ireland, both ſtill freſh in the recollection of the Proteſtants, neceſſarily heightened their animoſity to the utmoſt: while repeated diſcomfitures and diſaſters, and aggravated oppreſſion, together with the accumulated miſery produced by this revengeful code, certainly inconſiſtent with the principles of ſound policy and true religion, naturally rendered the hatred of the Roman Catholics virulent beyond example. An unparalleled combination of irritating, maddening circumſtances fomented, on both ſides, the moſt rancorous malignity. The idea of a Proteſtant in the mind of a Roman Catholic, and that of the latter in the mind of the former, now became cloſely aſſociated with every idea that could engender wrath, malice, and vengeance in the heart of man. Each abhorred the other: each longed for the extirpation of the other. And it ſeems nowiſe improbable that the more powerful of the two would have proceeded to ſtill greater extremities than it did, had not the government of Britain, the will whereof had generally the efficacy of a fundamental law in the Iriſh legislative aſſembly, been directed by a certain Machiavelian maxim, which does not appear to have been wholly diſcarded, at leaſt before the accompliſhment of the Union.

Thus, among countrymen, among the friendly, cheerful and hoſpitable people of Ireland, among Chriſtians, among thoſe who looked forward

* 7 W. III. c. 4. — 7 W. III. c. 5. — 9 W. III. c. 1. — 9 W. III. c. 3. — 10 W. III. c. 13. — 2 A. c. 3. — 2 A. c. 6. 6 A. c. 6 — 8 A. c. 3. — 2 G. I. c. 9. — 29 G. II. c. 6.

† The inefficacy of this code, as far as it was directed to the ſuppreſſion of the Roman Catholic religion, ſtands evinced by this incontrovertible fact, that the actual proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Proteſtants is much greater than at the commencement of the laſt century.

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to eternal happineſs through the mediation of the ſame Saviour, among thoſe who adored the ſame Trinity, among thoſe who agreed in all the eſſential points of religion *, the maintenance of a few different ſpeculative articles, and the obſervance of a few different rites, confeſſedly inoperative in ſocial life, and conſequently unworthy of ſerious notice, being unhappily combined with oppoſite intereſts, being coeval and concurrent with the moſt energetic principles of diſcord, ſerving as the teſts, ſymbols, or diſtinctive characters of two parties inveterately and unappeaſably hoſtile to each other, became at length, what in their natural unconnected ſtate they could never poſſibly have become, alimentary to the moſt vehement deteſtation.

—But time, as in all other caſes, produced a change. Blood had long ceaſed to flow. The Roman Catholics who had been plundered and excluded from political power gradually diſappeared. Their children, born in obſcurity and indigence, felt not ſo ſeverely as they did, the privation of wealth and power. The proximate cauſes of former conflicts grew leſs numerous, and had loſt their united energy. The true heirs of confiſcated lands, ſcattered through the armies of foreign princes, removed to the other ſide of the Atlantick, or exiſting in a ſtate of the profoundeſt ignorance at home, became generally unknown. Their titles likewiſe were, for the moſt part, merely traditionary; and in the event of a revolution, as was perceived by all reflecting men, would neceſſarily have furniſhed matter of endleſs litigation. No ſymptom of approaching convulſions appeared. The fears of the Proteſtants began to ſubſide, and with their fears their hatred began to wane. Thoſe who had experienced perſecution from the Roman Catholics had been ſucceeded by thoſe who, from their infancy, had ſeen them in a ſtate of abaſement and debilitating proſcription. The execution of the penal laws was conſequently mitigated: and the exuberant animoſity of the Roman Catholics thereby checked.

* There are ſeveral points of approximation between the Church of England Proteſtants and the Roman Catholics, which many of both overlook. The following extracts, from the Common Prayer book of the former, will ſufficiently ſhew the truth of this obſervation to the latter. The *Abſolution.*—and hath given power, and commandment to his Miniſters, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the Abſolution and Remiſſion of their ſins, &c. *Creed.*—I believe in the Holy Ghoſt; the holy Catholic Church; the communion of Saints, &c. *Catechiſm.*—*Q.* What is the inward part, or thing ſignified? *A.* The body and blood of Chriſt, which are verily, and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

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Still, however, there ſubſiſted a high degree of mutual diſtruſt and hatred between the jarring ſects of Iriſh Chriſtians. Contradictory hiſtories of paſt events, equally falſe, and equally calculated to prepetuate the ruinous mutual hatred and repulſion of the Proteſtants and the Roman Catholics, iſſued alternately from the pens of each. Vague and venomous expreſſions, the offspring of ignorance and malice, uſurped the place of warranted declamation and ſubſtantial practical reaſoning. The groundleſs and miſcheivous ſuggeſtions of querulous unrelenting age made laſting impreſſions on ſuſceptive credulous youth. The mere unaided conſideration of a difference of religion had ſtill the magic power of repreſſing confidence between man and man, of alienating fellow-ſubjects from each other, of impeding the exerciſe of ſocial virtues, and, not unfrequently, promoting the practice of injuſtice.

The tranſmiſſion of theſe uncharitable practices and feelings, from one generation to another, was, in a great degree, ultimately aſcribable to the aggregated laws againſt popery. Theſe laws, in conjunction with that ſyſtem of commercial reſtraints, to which, however injurious to themſelves, the Proteſtants, detached from their Roman Catholic countrymen, and relying on Britain alone for protection againſt them, were eaſily induced to ſubmit, retained the latter in a ſtate of poverty, ignorance, and ſeperation from the former, and from the reſt of the world; and thus favoured the duration of their ancient prejudices, and occaſioned among them exceſſive bigotry and illiberality of ſentiment, neceſſarily tending to nouriſh, among their Proteſtant countrymen, that hapleſs averſion which had, as yet, been but partially aſſuaged.

Thoſe Roman Catholics who might have been qualified for the attainment of riches and diſtinction were prevented, by the diſadvantages and diſabilities under which their body laboured, from raiſing themſelves, by their induſtry, or their talents, to a level with the higher ranks of Proteſtants. And thoſe few, whoſe ſmall eſtates had accidentally eſcaped confiſcation, and who by their birth were intitled to eminence in the Iriſh community, were generally educated in foreign countries, and frequently diſcouraged from reſiding in their own, by well grounded apprehenſions of experiencing ſuch treatment there, as would have hurt their pride, or imbittered their lives.

Hence it happened, that between the Roman Catholics and the ſuperior claſſes of the Proteſtants, whoſe political ſentiments generally influenced the

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the conduct of thoſe below them, there was no familiar intercourſe to ſmoothe the aſperities contracted in ſeaſons of turbulence, and to furniſh fit opportunities for rectifying miſconceptions, diſſipating prejudices, abating bigotry, exploding intolerance and ſuppreſſing religious enmity; no extenſive communications of ideas; no conformity of opinions; no coincidence of purſuits; no reciprocal diſcharge of the greater relative duties; no coalitions of intereſt; few mutual obligations; few individual friendſhips; in ſhort, no means of generating, among Iriſhmen of all ranks and perſuaſions, confidence, concord and amity *.

Had the Roman Catholics been permitted to thrive by every ſpecies of induſtry to which they might have inclined, and to employ their accumulating riches in the purchaſe of land; and had thoſe among them, who already poſſeſſed eſtates, been treated with indulgence and due reſpect, and occaſionally gratified by the favours of government; there would gradually have been created and preſerved an opulent reſpectable order of men, naturally intereſted in maintaining the tranquillity, and promoting the welfare of their country; and who would, in the courſe of time, have become connected with the higher orders of the Proteſtants by the various ties of ſocial life; have concurred with them in political views; and formed a point of contact between them and the lower orders of the Roman Catholics, from whence both might have derived the moſt important advantages. But either the arguments againſt liberal and conciliatory meaſures, which every diſintereſted man of reflection is actually prepared to refute and reprobate, were then ſufficiently ſtrengthened by circumſtances whereof, for the moſt part, we have now loſt ſight; or, which is the more probable of the two, the potent and jealous auxiliaries of the Proteſtants conſidered it as an indiſpenſable part of ſtate policy, to keep Ireland in a depreſſed condition, by the diſunion of its inhabitants.

As for the middle and lower orders of Proteſtants, with whom alone the Roman Catholics could aſſociate on equal terms of hoſpitality, the exclu-

* The writer has heard a certain dignified clergyman of the Proteſtant church, who is univerſally eſteemed for good ſenſe, conciliatory manners, liberality towards the Roman Catholics, becoming zeal for his own religion, and exemplary aſſiduity in the diſcharge of his appropriate functions, define an Iriſh Proteſtant thus, "a man who d—ns the Papiſts and never goes to church." And there certainly are not wanting ſome grounds for aſſenting to the juſtneſs of this jocular definition.

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ſive favour and protection which the former enjoyed, on account of their appropriate exerciſe of the valuable right of election, had rendered them, for the moſt part, at leaſt in the three Roman Catholic provinces, intolerably preſumptuous, inſolent and offenſive to the latter; while other circumſtances contributed to repreſs every tendency to cordiality on the part of theſe; and eventually on that of thoſe.

The patronage of Ireland, in all its ramifications, was extended to Proteſtants alone. Not only was envy thus excited among thoſe few leading Roman Catholics who were intitled, by birth and fortune, to aſpire to the more exalted places of truſt and emolument; but hatred in addition to envy, among their inferiours. Thoſe various ſubordinate offices, which are at leaſt as invidious as lucrative, were almoſt uniformly filled by Proteſtants; a practice, which, if conſidered in all its diſtant effects, may poſſibly be found little inferior in impolicy to any other practice, meaſure or law whereby the Roman Catholics were affected. The hearth-money collectors, the officers of exciſe and cuſtoms, the tithe-proctors, conſtables, bailiffs, jailors and all thoſe different officers, the diſcharge of whoſe duties is every where attended with much unpopularity, and was particularly odious to the lower orders of Iriſh Roman Catholics, were, with very few exceptions, Proteſtants.

Moreover, in the courts of law, where, under our unrivalled ſyſtem of juriſprudence, every criminal and ſuitor has a right to experience the exerciſe of lenity and impartiality, almoſt all the officers, from the judge to the crier, generally even the interpreters, were Proteſtants; and Iriſh Proteſtants, it may well be ſuſpected, were not always unbiaſſed by party conſiderations; at leaſt Iriſh Roman Catholics were far from being in the habit of thinking them ſo; and of courſe ſuſpected, what there can be little doubt they ſometimes found, diſadvantageous defects in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

The ſoldiers likewiſe were all nominally, and before the middle of the laſt century, really Proteſtants; and the ſoldiers of the King of England were long regarded, by the conquered Roman Catholic Iriſh, as ready enemies, rather than ſteady defenders.

This practice of ſelecting the different agents of the executive power from among the Proteſtants, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have had no inconſiderable effect in extending, as well as prolonging the alienation of the Roman

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Roman Catholics. For, as theſe laſt conſtituted a very great majority of the lower claſs of the governed, and as government is generally conſidered by a ſemi-barbarous people, ſuch as the Roman Catholic Iriſh were, while they laboured under the rigours of the popery laws, rather as a ſyſtem of painful reſtraints, than as an inſtitution ſupplying the means of individual ſecurity, there ſeems ſufficient ground for ſuſpecting that they were not only eſtranged from, and frequently exaſperated againſt the Proteſtants employed by the executive power; but that by an aſſociation of ideas, ſufficiently likely among ignorant people, they extended their antipathy from a ſet of vexatious agents to all other perſons of the ſame communion.

Had the Roman Catholics been permitted to participate the odium, ordinarily attached to the exerciſe of ſeveral of the ſubordinate functions of the executive power, it is highly probable that the Proteſtant eſtabliſhments would have been equally ſecure; and very certain that much leſs envy and much leſs hatred would have ſubſiſted among Iriſh Chriſtians; and that Ireland would, in conſequence, have fallen much leſs low in the ſcale of European nations.

But the Iriſh popery laws, by their effects on the Roman Catholic clergy, tended ſtill further to foment religious enmity. The ſcanty revenues collected incidentally by this order of men, among their beggarly pariſhioners, were ſcarcely adequate to their maintenance. Their dwellings, generally ſpeaking, were wretched hovels. Their places of worſhip ſeldom better *. And they themſelves were expoſed to the operation of rigorous laws, to the contumelies of brutal country ſquires, and to the occaſional exceſſes of ſplenetic magiſtrates. Hence, few Roman Catholics, in eaſy circumſtances, could reconcile to their pride, or indeed to their ſenſe of paternal duty, to devote their children to the ſervice of their church. Still, however, ſeveral perſons deſcended from once diſtinguiſhed families belonged to that order. But a very great majority of the Roman Catholic clergy were obſerved to ſpring from the dregs of the people. Youths, probably rendered fanatic by the diſcipline of prieſts, wandered about as mendicant ſcholars; and thus procured the means of tranſporting themſelves to ſome foreign univerſity;

* In the report made to the Houſe of Lords on the ſtate of Popery, in 1731, it is ſtated that there were then in Ireland upwards of 100 huts, ſheds, or moveable altars at which maſs was celebrated.

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where, in a ſtate of the utmoſt degradation and excluſion from the company of their more reſpectable and enlightened fellow-ſtudents, they obtained a gratuitous education; wretched, no doubt, in the extreme; but ſuch as was deemed to qualify them ſufficiently for their future miniſtry. On returning to their native country, the principal literary acquiſitions, of which the greater part of them could boaſt, were, a knowledge of monkiſh Latin, of ſcholaſtic theology, of obſolete and incredible legends, and of the more ſophiſtical arguments employed by thoſe polemics whom the early reformers had provoked: paltry acquiſitions, which, beſides, were often nearly loſt amidſt the drudgery of their profeſſion. Ignorant, in general, of every branch of polite literature, with minds contracted by an inceſſant repetition of religious exerciſes, and enſlaved by thoſe impreſſions which had been ſeaſonably made on them, when every circumſtance conſpired to render them ſuſceptible of permanent impreſſions: with groveling and perverted thoughts, with incorrect and obſcure ideas of moral obligations, unpractiſed in the relative duties of ſocial life, and dependent, for their ſuſtenance, on their profeſſional labours; their conduct, as preachers of the word of God, as miniſters of the religion of Chriſt, was, to the laſt degree, revolting in the minds of all enlightened men; and calculated, in a peculiar manner, to foſter the mutual enmity of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics. With boiſterous zeal, and in poſitive, coarſe, and inconcluſive language, they magiſterially inculcated thoſe tenets, which many an intelligent Roman Catholic deems it at preſent inexpedient to enlarge on. Their incoherent, wild, bugbear ſermons, delivered with ludicrous vehemence and grimace, had no other object than to intimidate and bring into ſubjection the ſuperſtitious, beſotted, barbarous rabble who compoſed their congregations. Truth, peace, honeſty, clemency, induſtry, charity, forgiveneſs and brotherly love were very rarely the topics of their diſcourſes. To enforce the barren obſervances of religion, or to excite a general horror of hereſy, not to inculcate the practice of Chriſtian virtues, was the general ſcope of all their endeavours. Their education, in a very great degree, and their mode of life, perhaps in a greater, diſqualified them for the latter.

With regard to converſion, they exerciſed their utmoſt vigilance: vigilance which, in fact, was rendered neceſſary by the nature and ſtraitneſs of their incomes; as every apoſtate from their religion withdrew a few ſhillings from their annual receipts; and every convert to it yielded them as much. Apoſtacy they accordingly denounced, on all occaſions, as one of the

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the moſt heinous offences againſt heaven; and to aid in the work of proſelytiſm to the Romiſh faith, they announced as one of the moſt meritorious ſervices of a Chriſtian. But fearing the failure of empty denunciations and declarations, they had recourſe to other expedients alſo. To treat Proteſtants with indulgence, they conſidered as likely to facilitate the converſion of their people. Thoſe few inflexible ones, therefore, who were within their reach, were frequently made to feel the effects of malevolence and bigotry. And thoſe few Roman Catholics who accidentally ſeceded from their religion, and very few there were, they ſubjected, as far as they could, to the penalties of excommunication; excluding them from the kind offices, and expoſing them to the malice of their neighbours. They even decried their moral characters; and, in the lapſe of time, diſallowed their lineage. Such conduct often reached the ears of the Proteſtant gentry; and neceſſarily became highly inſtrumental in keeping up the declining mutual enmity of the members of the diſcordant communions. In ſcarcely any reſpect whatever, did the generality of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, during the operation of the popery laws, reſemble that venerable body of men who now ſuperintend the ſpiritual concerns of four millions of people. The paſtoral zeal, the moral worth, the piety, the ardent patriotiſm, the juſt ſentiments of loyalty *, the extenſive erudition, the generoſity, the politeneſs, and the apparent liberality which, at this day, are ſo frequently found among the Roman Catholic clergy, in every dioceſe in Ireland, and which have raiſed them to an exalted place in the eſteem of every unprejudiced Iriſh Proteſtant †; and attracted towards their order a very conſiderable degree of reſpect from all quarters; were very far from being the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Roman Catholic clergy before His preſent Majeſty's reign.

* Inſtances of reſolute loyalty, on the part of Roman Catholic clergymen, have been recorded in recent hiſtories written under the impulſe of principles unfavourable to the Roman Catholic body.

† The writer is in poſſeſſion of a vaſt number of letters from different Roman Catholic clergymen, partly addreſſed to himſelf, on various occaſions, and partly to each other. Of theſe letters he can truly ſay that the ſound ſenſe, loyal ſentiments, patriotic, poliſhed, and liberal language which diſtinguiſh them, for the moſt part, do honour to the heads and hearts of thoſe by whom they were written. Having obtained permiſſion to publiſh one of them, deſcriptive of the preſent condition of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, the reader will find it marked 29 in the Appendix. It contains a detail of facts little known; and is therefore extremely worthy of attention.

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SECTION II.

Gradual Decline of religious Enmity, and Commencement of national Proſperity in Ireland.

BUT that religious enmity, which had ſo long been the peculiar curſe of Ireland, began to decline, in a very perceptible manner, notwithſtanding the exiſtence of all thoſe cauſes of irritation which have juſt been noticed. The Proteſtants became very generally impreſſed with the neceſſity of abrogating the greater part of the penal ſtatutes. And the exigencies of Ireland began to ſuggeſt the neceſſity of an union, or a compromiſe between them and the Roman Catholics; or, at leaſt, a diſcontinuance of practices indicative of their reciprocal alienation.

The rupture between Britain and her colonies had made it neceſſary to tranſport acroſs the Atlantic a conſiderable part of the forces belonging to the Iriſh eſtabliſhment *. And the then tranquil ſtate of Ireland, together with the apparently pacific diſpoſition of France, rendered it ſafe to do ſo. The hoſtile intentions, however, of the ancient enemy of Britain ſoon becoming manifeſt, the Proteſtants of Ireland thought it prudent to arm in defence of their country.

About this time, there paſſed an act, 17 and 18 G. III. c. 13, for eſtabliſhing a Proteſtant militia. But whether owing to the then inconvenient expenſe attendant thereon, or to the rapid increaſe of the volunteers, which ſuperſeded the neceſſity of other troops, the government declined to carry the act into effect. The volunteer force, rapidly increaſing, ſoon exceeded 40,000; and compriſed almoſt the whole of the Proteſtant landed proprietors, merchants, and other perſons of ſubſtance in Ireland. Thoſe who firſt took up arms do not appear to have had any other object in view than merely the defence of Ireland againſt external foes. But before the volunteer army amounted to the number juſt mentioned, the releaſe

* The forces in 1756 conſiſted of 688 horſe, 1,188 dragoons, and 9,770 foot, making together 11,646, beſides artillery and invalids. In 1777 the effective forces amounted to 8616. In 1779 it was generally underſtood that the effectives fell conſiderably ſhort of 5,000. In 1782, the number returned to parliament was 5,709. The permanent military eſtabliſhment, as ſettled 1ſt January 1692, was 360 horſe, 1,244 dragoons, 10,680 foot; in all 12,284.

of

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of their country from the oppreſſion to which it had long been obliged to ſubmit, became an additional object to all, and was the primary motive of a vaſt majority.

The effects ultimately occaſioned by this oppreſſion, and likewiſe thoſe which are almoſt inſeparable from war, began to be generally and ſeverely felt. In every corps of volunteers there were found ſeveral individuals who had ſufficient ground for complaint. The woollen and ſilk manufactures, which had long ſtruggled under the greateſt diſadvantages, were almoſt utterly deſtroyed. The export of linens was greatly reduced. The general trade of Ireland was diminiſhed. The rent of land was declining. And the ſources of the public revenue became much leſs productive *.

At the different meetings of the volunteers the affairs of their country ſeldom failed to be narrowly canvaſſed. Theſe military aſſociations brought men of different ranks and deſcriptions into contact with each other. The connection of their reſpective intereſts was, in conſequence, more ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of all. The public papers teemed with ingenious political diſquiſitions, well written eſſays, and energetic addreſſes and reſolutions, calculated either to diſcloſe the cauſes of the actual diſtreſſes of Ireland; to render the people impatient under the grievances which they experienced; or to inſpire them with confidence in their means of redreſs. An ardent flame of patriotiſm was kindled throughout the land; and almoſt every Iriſhman felt a ſtrong deſire to ſeize the lucky opportunity, which then preſented itſelf, for reſcuing his country from commercial thraldom; and reſuming, or aſſerting thoſe political rights which had been uſurped or habitually exerciſed by Britain, and tamely or rather treacherouſly acquieſced in, or ſanctioned by the obſequious parliament of Ireland. Many of the deſcendants of the ſoldiers of Cromwell, who were numerous in Ireland, became animated with ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe which prevailed in England in the reign of the unfortunate Charles.

The intelligent and real patriots who, from the commencement of the colonial war, had looked anxiouſly forward to ſome emergency likely to enable Ireland to attain her proper place among European nations, appear to have been influenced by a juſt perſuaſion of the incompetence of the Proteſtants to accompliſh the liberation of Ireland, or at leaſt to fix her welfare

* The groſs produce of the hereditary revenue for two years ending in 1769, was 1,309,828l. 5s. 7½d. and for two years ending in 1779, 1,175,145l. 6s. 5½d.

on

on a permanent baſis, in the event of the Roman Catholics, who conſtituted the great body of the people, being left in a ſtate of diſcontent, of neutrality or indifference with regard to her proſperity and ſtrength: for ſuch may truly be ſaid to have been their caſe during the continuance of the penal laws. They had alſo obſerved that theſe tyrannical laws and their immediate reſults had been the primary cauſes of the political weakneſs and infelicity of Ireland; "that, to uſe the words employed by an eminent adverſary of the Roman Catholics, on a ſubſequent occaſion, they were highly jurious to the landed intereſt of Ireland, and had diminiſhed the value of every man's eſtate who voted for them*;" and "that, to uſe the words of the ſame nobleman, religious bigotry, and religious diſtinctions had proved the ſource of bitter calamity to the people of Ireland †." They had likewiſe ſeen, through the medium of authentic documents, that theſe laws had been far from producing the effects expected from them ‡: that their

* Speech of Lord Clare in the Houſe of Lords 13th March 1793. † Id.

‡ Number of certificates of conformity filed in the court of Chancery from paſſing the firſt act to prevent the further growth of popery to 1708, incluſive—

Years.	Cert.
1703	4
1704	16
1705	3
1706	5
1707	2
1708	7
Total	37

From paſſing the 2d act to prevent the further growth of popery, 8 An. (1709) to November 1773.

Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.
1709	38	1726	35	1743	54	1760	84
1710	28	1727	39	1744	48	1761	150
1711	10	1728	51	1745	48	1762	108
1712	13	1729	34	1746	50	1763	126
1713	7	1730	39	1747	88	1764	104
1714	10	1731	62	1748	46	1765	101
1715	10	1732	50	1749	58	1766	130
1716	8	1733	43	1750	71	1767	124
1717	19	1734	99	1751	41	1768	210
1718	12	1735	61	1752	65	1769	169
1719	38	1736	39	1753	70	1770	132
1720	24	1737	50	1754	79	1771	117
1721	33	1738	58	1755	69	1772	88
1722	35	1739	59	1756	67	1773	60
1723	35	1740	71	1757	93		
1724	27	1741	68	1758	73	Total	4,097
1725	41	1742	45	1759	83		

effects

effects were inverſely proportioned to the induſtry with which they were enforced: and that notwithſtanding an annual acceſſion of Proteſtants, for at leaſt 30 ſucceſſive years, from charter ſchools *, foundling hoſpitals, and other nurſeries of Proteſtantiſm, the Roman Catholic population had increaſed with greater rapidity than that of the Proteſtants†.

The

* In the 25th number of the Appendix, the reader will find an account of the parliamentary grants to the Incorporated Society for promoting Proteſtant charter-ſchools ſince the year 1745. Theſe grants, together with the appropriated duties, appear to have amounted to 612,273l. Beſides which, the Society derived a very great augmentation of revenue from the rent of eſtates, legacies, donations, &c. &c. Had the money, which was granted by Parliament to this Society, been employed in eſtabliſhing Engliſh agricultural families in different parts of Ireland, the Proteſtants would ultimately have experienced a much greater acceſſion of numbers; and, what was of infinitely greater importance, examples of induſtry, ſkill, frugality, and reſpect for the laws would have been every where ſet. The total number of children apprenticed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſchools, is 7,23. But of this number, it may be conſidered as a fact, that at leaſt one half embraced the Roman Catholic religion. The marriage portions paid amounted to 819 only.

† Among many other pregnant facts, the following ſeem to evince a rapid increaſe of the Roman Catholic population. The number of Proteſtants formed into troops and companies, in the year 1715, was 37,348. The diſtrict corps, in 1799, when the ſafety of the ſtate required the aid of loyal men as much as in the year 1715, contained only 37,539 men, including Roman Catholics. The number of Proteſtants arrayed in the militia, in 1756, was 148,767. The number of men in the diſtrict corps, in 1803, when all loyal and reflecting men had become ſufficiently aware of the urgency of taking up arms in defence of king and conſtitution, was only 84,941. This number compriſed a very great majority of the Proteſtants capable of bearing arms, in the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught: indeed in very many diſtricts every Proteſtant, who could bear arms, did ſo. But it alſo compriſed a great proportion of Roman Catholics. In ſeveral corps in the ſouth, they outnumbered the Proteſtants. For the militia in 1756, Dublin city furniſhed 11,772 Proteſtants, Cork 3,000, Limerick 1,500, Waterford 800, Kilkenny 404, and Galway 120. But it may well be queſtioned whether they could furniſh more, or even ſo many, at preſent, notwithſtanding the very great general increaſe of people ſince the year 1756. The men capable of bearing arms are generally computed to be one-fifth of the inhabitants. That Dublin does not, even at preſent, contain 58,860 Proteſtants, or Cork 15,000, or Limerick 7,500, or Waterford 4,000, or Kilkenny 2,020, or Galway 600, moſt perſons who know theſe cities will readily believe.

The population of the dioceſe of Cloyne, in the county of Cork, as returned by the Proteſtant Biſhop to the Committee on the ſtate of Popery in the year 1731, conſiſted of 14,200 Proteſtants and 80,500 Roman Catholics, as may be ſeen in the Lords Journals of that year. The latter, therefore, were not more than about 5¾ to 1 of the former. From

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Two important truths, confirmed by the experience of ages, but uniformly overlooked in Ireland, namely, that religion thrives and ſpreads

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the beſt information the writer has been able to collect, they are actually upwards of 15 to 1. The Proteſtant country gentlemen of that dioceſe will probably confirm the information. In the pariſhes (according to the Roman Catholic diviſion) of Mallow, Youghal, Kilworth, Macroom, Cloyne, Dounaghmore, Mitchelſtown, Charleville, Doneraile and Kanturk, there were baptized, in the year 1807, as below, 2,656 children of Roman Catholic parents *. This number, according to the proportion of baptiſms to inhabitants in the Table marked XXII. illuſtrative of the population of the dioceſe of Roſs, and which was formed with the moſt ſcrupulous preciſion and fidelity, gives 63,744 inhabitants in only 10 pariſhes or unions, ſome of them, no doubt, very large; but ſome of them, Youghal for inſtance, having a much greater proportion of Proteſtants than is to be found in the other pariſhes of the dioceſe.

According to the returns in Dr. Smith's Hiſtory of Cork, vol. i. p. 407, there were, in the whole county, in 1732-3, 22,600 Proteſtants, and 184,915 Roman Catholics. So that the latter then, throughout the whole county, were under 8¼ to 1 of the former.

In the foregoing pariſhes, belonging to the dioceſe of Cloyne, there appear to be	63,744
In the dioceſe of Roſs there are	72,265
In 25 unions, in the dioceſe of Cork, the baptiſms in the year 1807, were 5,065, and conſequently the inhabitants at 24 to 1	121,520
In five unions, in the ſame dioceſe, whereof no returns of baptiſms were obtained, but the number computed from the others, 195 baptiſms each, or in all 975,	23,400
In ſeven unions belonging to the united dioceſe of Ardfert and Aghadoe, but in the county of Cork 1,255 baptiſms,	30,120
In 32 unions in the dioceſe of Cloyne, from whence no returns were made, the number of Roman Catholic inhabitants, computed as before, is	149,760
Making a total of	460,809

With regard to this account it is proper to obſerve, firſt, that the returns of births from ſome of the unions in the dioceſe of Cork are incomplete. Secondly, that five of the pariſhes in the ſame dioceſe, though denominated unions in the foregoing account, are but conſtituent parts of unions; there being only 25 Roman Catholic unions in that dioceſe, excluſive of the city of Cork; and that the reaſon for their being conſidered diſtinctly was on account of diſtinct returns of baptiſms being made from them. And thirdly, that the proportion of inhabitants to baptiſms, viz. 24 to 1, is lower than in moſt other countries; and has been uſed in this computation, merely becauſe it was found to be the proportion in the dio-

*

Mallow	400	Mitchelſtown	304
Youghal	315	Charleville	218
Kilworth	234	Doneraile	240
Macroom	127	Kanturk	337
Cloyne	264		
Dounaghmore	217		2,656

ceſe

ſpreads under perſecution, and that union is requiſite to national vigour, began to make deep and effective impreſſions on the minds of reflecting men. Theſe truths, accompanied by a well-grounded perſuaſion of the urgency of harmonizing the rival religions of Ireland, and diffuſing among Iriſhmen a becoming and beneficial ſolicitude for the proſperity of their country, inſtead of a paltry paralyſing zeal for the preponderance of a particular ſect of religion, acted as the directing ſtars of thoſe who had opportunely undertaken to reſcue their countrymen from political bondage.

The conciliatory language and conduct naturally ſuggeſted by this perſuaſion, by theſe truths, and by a retroſpective view of the ſufferings of Ireland, ſoon became prevalent, nay almoſt univerſal among the Proteſtant

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ceſe of Roſs, and in ſeveral detached pariſhes, where a moſt accurate enumeration and inveſtigation took place.

Kerſeboom reckons births to inhabitants at 1 in 35.

The proportion in France, as appears by Mr. Young's account, is 1 to 25½.

Gregory King ſtates the proportion in England to be 1 to 28, 85.

In the healthful pariſh of Stoke Damerill, in Devonſhire, it is ſtated, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, to be 1 to $27\frac{67}{122}$.

Now, if the Proteſtants, in the County of Cork, bear a greater proportion to the Roman Catholics than as 1 to 15, then there muſt be more than 491,529 inhabitants, excluſive of thoſe of the city, which, at ſix to each houſe on an average, would give 81,921 houſes, which is 5,067 more than returned in both the county and city in 1791. Indeed, as appearances and local enumerations evince a greater increaſe of houſes ſince that year, the proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Proteſtants, in the county of Cork, ought not, perhaps, to be conſidered ſo high as 15 to 1; but even ſo the proportion of the former to the latter has nearly doubled ſince the year 1732.

By the report of the committee, in 1731, it appeared that, in the county of Mayo, the Roman Catholics were to the Proteſtants as 12 to 1. But when we find, by the returns of Proteſtant clergymen, for which ſee table marked 28, in the Appendix, that in eleven pariſhes, or unions, in the dioceſe of Tuam, there are only 85 Proteſtant families to 4,408 Roman Catholic families, and that in the extenſive union of Newport all the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, we may very well believe that the proportion of theſe to the Proteſtants is more than twice as great as in the year 1731, notwithſtanding the pains then, and ſubſequently, taken to diminiſh it.

By the ſame report it appears that there were in the dioceſes of Cork, Roſs, and Cloyne 65 popiſh ſchools; and in all Ireland 549. By the table, marked 26, in the Appendix, there appear to be, in the dioceſes of Cloyne and Roſs, which form one dioceſe in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, 316 ſchools kept by Roman Catholics; which is 252 more than in the *three* dioceſes in 1731, and within 233 of the whole number then in Ireland.

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volunteers; and was productive of the happieſt effects. To behold 40,000 Proteſtants completely armed, highly diſciplined, acting in concert, uncontroulable by government, and yet not only declining to manifeſt, in any ſhape, their hereditary enmity towards the Roman Catholics; but diſplaying, on all occaſions, the utmoſt liberality of ſentiment, was ſufficient to diſſipate that combination of terror and abhorrence which the latter had ſo long laboured under: and the unexpected and pleaſing ſpectacle appears to have had, in a great degree, that effect. Almoſt every individual in the towns and in the country, of every rank and every perſuaſion, held the volunteer army in the higheſt eſteem; amply and cheerfully adminiſtered to its occaſional neceſſities; and received it, when on march, with unfeigned joy, and unbounded hoſpitality. The populace were devotedly attached to it. The kind and generous treatment which the Roman Catholics, almoſt every where, experienced, was equal, in its general effects, to a repeal of all thoſe oppreſſive laws to which they were ſtill ſubjected. Nay, it was much better calculated to extinguiſh their well-warranted hatred than ſuch repeal, accompanied by thoſe irritating expreſſions of diſtruſt and deteſtation, thoſe invidious preferences, and that general alienating conduct which have unfortunately been, of late years, too prevalent among Proteſtants, under the influence of opinions haſtily formed, in a ſeaſon of turbulence, or in the midſt of thoſe ſanguinary exceſſes which uniformly mark the progreſs of an unbridled revolutionary rabble, be their religion what it may: for penal and diſqualifying laws do not always operate as ſources of equal and unremitting miſery to all thoſe who are expoſed to them; but when one deſcription of the people is excluſively favoured by the government, and under that favour indulges, on all occaſions, its antipathy to another, with which it muſt neceſſarily intermix in the ordinary buſineſs of ſocial life, every unoffending individual of the latter becomes liable to almoſt as much real vexation, as the tranſgreſſor of many a penal law could ultimately feel.

During the period which we are conſidering, it is alſo to be obſerved, that there happened none of thoſe tumultuous riſings which were, at all other times, ſo common in Ireland; and that the laws were ſtrictly enforced in the moſt remote parts of the country. It is likewiſe to be remarked, that the few Roman Catholics who were admitted into the volunteer corps, before the year 1780, felt highly flattered and gratified by their admiſſion,

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as the writer had opportunities of witneſſing; and ſhewed themſelves, in an eminent manner, truſt-worthy and zealous: a fact which goes far to ſanction the perſuaſion, that in the event of their being raiſed to thoſe poſts, in the ſtate, from which they are ſtill excluded, government would have abundant reaſon to be pleaſed and ſatisfied with their fidelity and exertions.

But the Proteſtant patriots of Ireland did not limit themſelves to profeſſions of amity towards their Roman Catholic countrymen, to expreſſions of confidence in them, and to ſuch conduct, in ſocial life, as correſponded therewith. They wiſely and magnanimouſly did more: they evinced the ſincerity of their profeſſions by anticipating the natural wiſhes of the Roman Catholics. A bill for their relief was brought into Parliament, and paſſed into a law. The preamble to this act (17 & 18 G. III. c. 49.) is worthy of particular attention; inaſmuch as it contains certain indiſputable truths which ſhould, on every occaſion, and more eſpecially at preſent, govern the conduct of Iriſh Proteſtants towards their Roman Catholic fellow-ſubjects. It proceeds thus: "Whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the 2d year of Her late Majeſty Queen Anne, entitled *an act to prevent the further growth of popery*, and alſo by another act made in the eighth year of her ſaid reign for explaining and amending the ſaid act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made ſubject to ſeveral diſabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned, and whereas FROM THEIR UNIFORM PEACEABLE BEHEAVOUR FOR A LONG SERIES OF YEARS, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax the ſame, and IT MUST TEND NOT ONLY TO THE CULTIVATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THIS KINGDOM, BUT TO THE PROSPERITY AND STRENGTH OF ALL HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS, THAT HIS SUBJECTS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS SHOULD ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF OUR FREE CONSTITUTION, AND SHOULD BE BOUND TO EACH OTHER BY MUTUAL INTEREST, AND MUTUAL AFFECTION." It then enables Roman Catholics to take leaſes for 999 years certain, or determinable on lives not exceeding five. It renders their lands deſcendible, deviſeable and tranſferable as thoſe of others, with the proviſo, however, of their taking and ſubſcribing the oath and declaration of 13 & 14 G. III. c. 35, previouſly to their taking poſſeſſion of the lands; and it virtually repeals the 3d ſection of the act 2 A. c. 6. which enacted that a maintenance or portion ſhould be granted to any child of a popiſh parent, upon a bill being filed againſt ſuch parent purſuant to that act; and it, moreover, withdraws the encouragement held forth by that act to the eldeſt ſon of a popiſh parent to conform,

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viz. that of ſecuring the deſcent of his father's real eſtate to himſelf, by rendering the former tenant for life in conſequence of the conformity of latter.

The effect of this unſought-for act, in reſpect of conciliation, was very great. The manner in which the favour was conferred added conſiderably to its value.

At a ſubſequent period, when the elective franchiſe was extended to the Roman Catholics, they were haſtily charged with a want of gratitude, whether with reaſon or not it is now unneceſſary to inquire. If, however, they really were deficient therein, there can be no room for ſurpriſe or cenſure, as the right in queſtion, ardently ſolicited, was granted in a moſt reluctant and ungracious manner; rather conceded through neceſſity, than beſtowed through benevolence.

There was, moreover, another important effect produced by this relaxation of the popery laws, which deſerves to be remembered; that of drawing the induſtry of the Roman Catholics to the land. The oppreſſed and reſtricted condition of the manufactures and trade of Ireland had almoſt extinguiſhed a true commercial ſpirit among the Iriſh, eſpecially among the Roman Catholics; and the popery laws, with reference to land, had completely diſcouraged the latter from engaging whatever capitals they had, in agricultural improvements or ſpeculations. Thoſe who had amaſſed any wealth were chiefly concerned, either directly or indirectly, in a ſimple proviſion trade, and in the obſcure and mixed internal traffic of the country towns. But as ſoon as theſe laws were repealed, the more wealthy Roman Catholics, particularly in the ſouth and weſt, haſtened to transfer conſiderable parts of their capitals to the land; its permanent poſſeſſion being rendered doubly gratifying by their former incapacities, and its cultivation being more congenial with their habits, and likely to prove more profitable than the proſecution of limited commerce and precarious manufactures. It accordingly appears, by returns made to Parliament, that from the year 1778 to the year 1792 no fewer than 12,073 Roman Catholics had taken and ſubſcribed the oath and declaration of 17 & 18 G. III.; and of theſe, there can be no doubt that a very large majority did ſo with the ſole view of ſuch a laſting occupancy of the land as might, in moſt effects, be equal to the poſſeſſion of the fee-ſimple.

The Roman Catholics being thus prudently and becomingly conciliated by the Proteſtants, the endeavours of a united people were aſſiduouſly directed

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directed to remove the fetters which clogged the trade of Ireland. The whole Iriſh nation loudly, and with the efficacy of internal union, demanded an equitable freedom of commerce. Their repreſentatives hitherto, for the moſt part, the mere agents of the Britiſh government, were overawed, and compelled, for once, to diſcharge the appropriate duties of the ſtations which they may be ſaid to have in general uſurped. Yielding to the deſire of the nation, they declared, in an addreſs to the King, that nothing except a free trade could ſave Ireland from ruin. But this being deemed inſufficient, the mob of Dublin, conſiſting chiefly of ſtarving manufacturers, were induſtrioufly taught to ſuſpect that the Parliament would not exert itſelf in promoting the intereſt of Ireland; and under this impreſſion (the volunteers, for the firſt time, ſtanding aloof,) aſſaulted the members on their way to the Houſe, crying out for a free trade and a ſhort money bill. In this ſtate of intimidation, two ſix months money bills were ſent over to England, and paſſed the great ſeal. The mob well underſtood the limits within which they might expect forbearance on the part of the volunteers; and were both diſinclined and afraid to tranſgreſs them.

The condition of Ireland, which now became a principle ſubject of diſcuſſion in the Britiſh Parliament, excited no ſmall degree of alarm. The cruelty and impolicy of the reſtraints which affected her commerce were, at length, very generally admitted. It was ſeen and acknowledged that England had derived no benefit from repreſſing the trade of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, her acquiſition of wealth had been greatly impeded by unwiſely impoveriſhing a nation which might, and would have been her beſt cuſtomer, and from which riches would have been perpetually arriving through a variety of channels. In the caſe of the woollen manufacture, which England was ſo ſedulous to annihilate in Ireland, ſhe injured herſelf materially by ſo doing; as the redundant wool of the latter being, through neceſſity, ſmuggled into France, enabled the people of that country to rival thoſe of Britain. Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech delivered on the 22d of February 1785, on introducing the commercial propoſitions, admitted, that "the ſpecies of policy which had been exerciſed by the government of England, in regard to Ireland, had for its object to debar the latter from the enjoyment of her own reſources, and to make her completely ſubſervient to the opulence and intereſts of England; that ſhe had not been ſuffered to ſhare in the bounties of nature, or the induſtry of her citizens; and that ſhe was ſhut out from every ſpecies of commerce, and reſtrained from

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from ſending the produce of her own ſoil to foreign markets. He alſo obſerved that it required little philoſophy to reconcile the people of England to a competition which would give them a rich cuſtomer inſtead of a poor one; and that inſtead of feeling uneaſineſs or jealouſy at the increaſe of the commerce of Ireland, they ſhould have reaſon to rejoice at the addition that would accrue to the common defence of the empire."

Under the impulſe of juſt and liberal ſentiments like theſe, but rather perhaps under that of fear, the Britiſh parliament became diſpoſed to concede to the demands of the united people of Ireland. On the 13th of December 1779, Lord North introduced the following reſolutions, which were aſſented to: viz. 1ſt, That it is expedient to repeal ſo much of any of the laws paſſed in Great Britain as prohibits the exportation from Ireland of all woollen manufactures; 2d, That it would be expedient to repeal ſo much of an act made in the 19th year of George II. as prohibits the exportation of glaſs from Ireland; 3d, That it would be expedient to allow the trade between Ireland and the Britiſh colonies in America and the Weſt indies, and the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa to be carried on in like manner, and ſubject to the ſame regulations and reſtrictions as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the ſaid colonies and ſettlements, &c. Beſides theſe reſolutions, his Lordſhip propoſed, with the approbation of the Houſe, to take off the prohibition to import foreign hops into Ireland; to enable His Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects to become members of the Turkey company, and to export woollens, in Britiſh or Iriſh ſhips, to the Levant; and to repeal the act that prohibited the exportation of gold coin from Great Britain to Ireland. The bill brought in by his Lordſhip, in purſuance of theſe propoſitions, was paſſed in January 1780.

In Ireland, án act was paſſed, viz. 19 & 20 G. III. c. 11. entitled an act for the advancement of trade, and for granting to His Majeſty certain duties, &c. This aboliſhed all duties, except alnage duties, payable upon the exportation of any goods or merchandize of the product or manufacture of Ireland to any other place but Great Britain, except thoſe on certain goods and merchandize therein mentioned; it granted drawbacks on goods imported from other countries when exported to the Britiſh colonies in America or the Weſt Indies, or the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; it granted allowances on the exportation of Iriſh ſilks, plain or mixed with other materials, in proportion to the duties on the raw materials

terials thereof; it placed the Iriſh trade with America, the Weſt Indies, and Africa on the ſame footing as the Britiſh trade therewith; it freed the importation of cotton wool from all duties; and gave a premium on the importation of indigo, &c.

Theſe proceedings were highly gratifying to the people of Ireland; but far from being completely ſatisfactory. An extenſion of the commercial limits of Ireland was, no doubt, a great advantage, and was conſidered as ſuch. But, a total want of the means of engaging in the carrying-trade, for which Ireland is ſo happily ſituated, and a want of protecting duties, in behalf of its languiſhing or infant manufactures rendered this advantage of little avail. In fact, the average value of the foreign goods exported from Ireland in the years 1781-2 was only 19,254l., as may be ſeen in the table marked 11, in the Appendix; and at the time of opening the trade of Ireland, there was not a ſingle manufacture in it, except the linen, in a flouriſhing ſtate, or likely to be ſo: which indeed, as Ireland has never been ſuffered to thrive, may be ſaid, with an exception or two, to have been nearly the caſe ever ſince. Her trade, excluſive of the linen, was the trade of a neglected, uncultivated country, the principal exports being beef, pork, butter, cattle, hides, tallow and wool. The quantity of corn exported was trifling, being on average of 8 years, ended in 1780, only 106,030 barrels of all ſorts of grain and meal. But even if Ireland had been in a condition to turn this advantage to account, it could not have proved completely ſatisfactory; inaſmuch as Britain ſtill retained the uſurped power of retracting it at any future period; and which there was not wanting ſufficient reaſon to apprehend ſhe would.

And here it ſeems not amiſs to obſerve, upon the ſubject of popular or national diſcontent, that, as thoſe who ſeek for a redreſs of grievances are either incapable of diſcovering, at firſt, all the latent and diſtant cauſes thereof, or are reſtrained from ſeeking a comprehenſive redreſs at once, through fear leſt its magnitude ſhould induce an unlimited reſiſtance to all their wiſhes; and as it is the nature of man to experience an equal degree of diſcontent ſo long as any grievance remains unredreſſed; ſo the progreſs of thoſe who ſeek the redreſs of grievances is generally gradual, and marked by ſucceſſive petitions, remonſtrances or reſolutions, each containing new matter for deliberation; and of courſe furniſhing their opponents with plauſible grounds for charging them with inſatiable or

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unextinguiſhable diſcontent, or with views inimical to the welfare of the ſtate. It behoves the governing powers of a country, therefore, to conſider ſeriouſly, at an early period, whether a redreſs of grievances, to the extent likely to be ultimately ſought for, may be acceded to, conſiſtently with the ſafety and welfare of the ſtate; and, if it cannot, to make that firm and effectual reſiſtance, which muſt always be eaſier in the firſt, than any ſubſequent ſtage; but if it can, to anticipate the wiſhes of the people, and magnanimouſly remove, at once, all juſtifiable grounds of diſcontent. Temporizing or half meaſures generally occaſion, in the end, an increaſe of perplexity; and ſeldom, if ever, are productive of permanent good. Theſe obſervations ſeem equally applicable to the peculiar grievances of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, and to the former political grievances of the Iriſh people. That the Roman Catholics could not be contented with a mere toleration of their religion, unleſs they were permitted to purchaſe land; that they could not, after obtaining this permiſſion, be contented, unleſs they were allowed to exerciſe the right of voting; that they could not be contented with this right, unleſs they were permitted to engage in thoſe profeſſions wherein a laudable ambition might be gratified; that they would ultimately extend their views to an equitable participation with the Proteſtants of all the benefits of the civil conſtitution; that they could expect none of theſe advantages if they ſought for all at once; and that reſiſtance to their ſucceſſive claims would be attended with increaſed embarraſſment, in every ſtage, might certainly have occurred to any man capable of due reflection. It may therefore be queſtioned whether government would not have acted more prudently by keeping them, if it were poſſible, and if the intereſt of the Proteſtants would have admitted, in the abject and powerleſs condition in which they were, than by granting the greater part of their ſucceſſive requeſts, thereby increaſing their weight in the community, and afterwards pertinaciouſly oppoſing their juſt and warranted claims.

That the people of Ireland could not be content with permiſſion to trade with all the world, unleſs they were enabled, by protecting duties or other means, to ſupply the manufactures which were in demand in foreign markets, and that they would ſtill be equally diſcontented, unleſs Britain renounced the right ſhe had aſſumed to reſtrain and regulate the commerce of Ireland, and to ſuperſede the meaſures of her legiſlature; and,

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and, finally, that the Iriſh people would experience diſſatisfaction, unleſs placed, in a commercial point of view, on the ſame footing with their Britiſh fellow-ſubjects, were facts which could ſcarcely fail to make impreſſions on the minds of enlightened ſtateſmen, and which ſoon became obvious to all.

On the 15th of February, 1782, at a meeting of the repreſentatives of 143 corps of volunteers, at Dungannon, in the province of Ulſter, where the Proteſtants and Proteſtant Diſſenters are moſt numerous, it was reſolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconſtitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exerciſed by the privy-councils of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poyning, were unconſtitutional and a grievance; that a mutiny-bill, not limited in point of duration, from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, was unconſtitutional and a grievance; that the ports of Ireland were, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon or obſtruction thereto, ſave only by the Parliament of Ireland, was unconſtitutional, illegal, and a grievance. The repreſentatives of theſe volunteers alſo declared, that they held the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally ſacred in others as themſelves; and that therefore as men, as Iriſhmen, as Chriſtians and as Proteſtants they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws againſt their Roman Catholic fellow-ſubjects; and that they conceived the meaſure to be fraught with the happieſt conſequences to the union and proſperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

This liberal and conciliatory declaration was contemporary with a further relaxation of the penal laws directed againſt the Roman Catholics. The Act 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24. ſets out with truly obſerving, that the continuance of the laws formerly enacted, and ſtill in force againſt perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, is *injurious to the real welfare and proſperity of Ireland.* The act then enables Papiſts to purchaſe land; permits Popiſh clergy of all ranks to reſide in the kingdom; withdraws penalties on perſons refuſing to appear and teſtify on oath when they heard maſs ſaid, and the names of thoſe by whom it was celebrated, &c.; annuls the penalties on Papiſts having horſes of a certain value; diſcontinues the levying of money on Papiſts to reimburſe perſons robbed by privateers; and alſo the obligation impoſed on Papiſts

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to provide Proteſtant watchmen; and it grants permiſſion to Papiſts to take or purchaſe houſes and tenements in Limerick and Galway, from whence they had been particularly excluded.

To detect and exhibit, in ſuitable colours, the varied impolicy, cruelty, inutility and miſchievous tendency of the popery laws which were abrogated before the year 1783, would be equally unneceſſary and unſeaſonable. Iriſhmen, of both religions, are ſufficiently impreſſed therewith; and it can ſcarcely be doubted that the hiſtory of their country, ſtrikingly illuſtrative of the ruinous effects of religious perſecution, will at all times effectually prevent a recurrence to laws in any reſpect analogous to them, whatever be the eſtabliſhed religion of the country. It may, however, be obſerved, with reference to the inutility and impolicy of them, that although pains were unremittingly taken to drive away the ſuperior and regular clergy of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, Ireland was never, at any one period, perfectly freed from them *; that government acted moſt unwiſely in prohibiting the Roman Catholic biſhops from reſiding, and exerciſing their functions in Ireland; and that by annulling that prohibition, they have furniſhed themſelves with a moſt deſirable and moſt favourable opportunity of giving currency to thoſe ſentiments and principles, the prevalence whereof is requiſite to the welfare of the country. Elevated, both by their revenues and rank, above the level of the other clergy, the Roman Catholic prelates form a neceſſary point of contact between the government and them. Their ſtations, and the talents for which they have been generally conſpicuous, give them an un-

* According to Captain South's account, there were, in Ireland, in the year 1698, 495 regular, and 872 ſecular clergy of the church of Rome. According to the ſame account, the number of regulars ſhipped for foreign parts, by act of parliament, was 424: viz. from Dublin 153, from Galway 170, from Cork 75, and from Waterford 26. Phil: Tranſ. vol. iii. p. 667.

According to the report of the committee on the ſtate of popery, in the year 1731, there were diſcovered then in Ireland 254 friars and 9 nuns. According to the ſame report, there were 892 maſs-houſes, beſides above 100 huts, ſheds or moveable altars, 54 private chapels, 1,445 officiating prieſts, and 549 popiſh ſchools. Lords Journals, vol. iii. p. 210.

By the accounts preſented to Parliament, it appears that the average annual amount of premiums for tranſporting prieſts and convicting burglary, for 16 years, to 1745, was 154l. 3s. 9d.; and that the ſame, for 44 years ended in 1789, was 29l. 6s. 4¼d. The premium for tranſporting prieſts having ceaſed after the year 1745, the ſum of 124l. 17s. 4¼d. may be conſidered as the average annual charge for that ſervice.

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limited influence over their clergy. Their paſtoral addreſſes have been of eſſential ſervice in arreſting or delaying the progreſs of diſaffection. Their ſcrupulous and indefatigable diſcharge of their more appropriate duties has occaſioned a very manifeſt improvement in the general character of their inferiour clergy, and eventually in the morals of the people *. And the countenance which they have generally afforded to the inſtruction of the lower order, has eminently conduced to raiſe that order, contrary to the utterly erroneous opinion which ſeems to prevail in Britain, very far above the level of the ſame order there, in point of literary attainments †. Should it ever be reſolved on to admit theſe prelates much more into the confidence of government than they have hitherto been, and to make ſuch ample additions to their revenues as might enable them to aſſociate completely with the higher orders of the community, it might reaſonably be expected that theſe ſalutary effects would be produced in a ſtill greater degree, and that others of at leaſt an equally beneficial nature would enſue.

To return to hiſtorical facts:—the flame of patriotiſm become ſtill more ardent by the ſpirited reſolutions of the volunteers aſſembled at Dungannon, and as yet, totally unreſtrained by unbecoming apprehenſions of the

* It will be ſeen by a very accurate return in the Appendix (marked 30), of the perſons ſentenced to be hanged or tranſported, in the county of Cork, containing near half a million of Roman Catholics, that, excluſive of the year of the rebellion, there were only 106 ſentenced to be hanged, and 169 to be tranſported, in *forty* years, ended with 1807: of which number, by the way, a certain portion were probably Proteſtants; and of theſe there does not appear to have been a ſingle individual hanged or tranſported for infanticide, ſodomy, or beſtiality; while, in England, in one year, viz. 1805, there were 27 females committed for the murder of their infants, and 15 men for ſodomy and beſtiality. The populous city of Cork, in which the Roman Catholics are to the Proteſtants as about 7 to 2, (ſee table, marked 18, in the Appendix,) is freer from crimes of every kind than perhaps any city of equal magnitude in the world. It has not, and needs not a regular police. Several aſſizes have paſſed without a ſingle capital conviction. Waterford, where the Roman Catholics are more numerous, is remarkable for ſupplying the judges with gold-fringed gloves.

† The Roman Catholic clergy have frequently been accuſed of endeavouring to keep their laity in ignorance. The very reverſe, however, happens to be the fact. By looking to the table in the Appendix marked 26, the reader will find that, in the dioceſes of Cloyne and Roſs alone, there are no fewer than 316 ſchools kept by Roman Catholics, and containing 21,892 ſcholars.

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grateful Roman Catholics, urged Mr. Grattan, that intrepid and active aſſertor of his country's rights, to move an addreſs to His Majeſty, declarative of the legiſlative independence of Ireland. Government, with effect, reſiſted the addreſs. That celebrated orator, however, renewed his patriotic endeavours; and on the 16th of April, had the enviable ſatisfaction to find himſelf at the head of a majority, created by his peculiar eloquence, which, on that occaſion, was rendered unprecedentedly nervous and efficacious by the fervour and attachment of his countrymen. The 21 & 22 G. III. c. 47. reſcued, from undue controul, the conſtitutional ſupremacy of the parliament of Ireland.

About this time, a body of volunteers, compoſed of Roman Catholics and Proteſtants indiſcriminately, but chiefly of the former, was formed in Dublin, under the denomination of the Iriſh brigade. At a meeting of the 1ſt regiment of this brigade, on the 22d of December 1782, the reſolutions of the Ulſter volunteer delegates, aſſembled at Dungannon, were

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The Roman Catholic clergy have alſo, not unfrequently, been precipitately, and indeed indiſcriminately, accuſed of being incendiaries, in conſequence of the rebellious conduct of about a dozen individuals of their order. Such a charge appears to evince a total dereliction of the principles of juſtice, and argues an utter want of reflection. No body of men, whether clerical or lay, ſo numerous as the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, was, ever yet, found free from a number of individuals whoſe conduct did not, in ſome way or other, afford ample ground for cenſure. The Proteſtant clergy can, by no means, boaſt of being an exception. But is it not flagrant injuſtice to charge the crimes of the few upon the innocent many? And may not thoſe be led into fatal errors who admit, and act upon ſuch unjuſtifiable charges? Of all deſcription of men, in the Iriſh community, there is not, perhaps, one more deeply intereſted in the preſervation of peace, and the encouragement of habits of induſtry, than the Roman Catholic clergy. And whatever may be the conduct of individuals, every body of men will follow that courſe which its intereſt points out.

The revenues of the Roman Catholic clergy are evidently commenſurate with the number and wealth of their flocks. Peace and induſtry demonſtrably tend to an augmentation of theſe: diſturbances and idleneſs to a diminution of them. The Roman Catholic clergy, though ſtill inadequately provided for, have five times greater revenues than their predeceſſors had, before the country began to thrive. They perceive that their condition is improved in exactly the ſame ratio as that of their country has been: And does it not betray a want of reflection to aſſume, that a great body of men are diſpoſed to reject thoſe means of thriving which they have experimentally found to be peculiarly efficacious; and to adopt thoſe viſionary ones, the efficacy whereof is at beſt extremely doubtful; and certainly more limited than that of thoſe which they actually enjoyed *?

* The reader is again referred to Number XXIX in the Appendix, which contains accurate and intereſting information reſpecting the condition of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland.

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adopted; and directions were given to the ſtanding committee to prepare a letter to Colonel Sharman who preſided in that aſſembly. This letter concluded with the following paragraph: "At this great criſis, when the weſtern world, while laying the foundation of a riſing empire, temptingly holds out a ſyſtem of equal liberty to mankind, and waits with open arms to receive the emigrants from ſurrounding nations, we think it a duty we owe to our country, to promote, as far as our example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants of Ireland." Animated by this ſentiment, and convinced that national unanimity is the baſis of national ſtrength, this regiment affords a ſtriking inſtance how far the divine ſpirit of toleration can unite men of all religious deſcriptions in one great object, *the ſupport of a free conſtitution.*

Many other inſtances might be adduced to ſhew that the patriotic part of the Iriſh community was, generally ſpeaking, at this time, more than ever impreſſed with the neceſſity of a ſtrict union between the Proteſtants and Catholics. To the intereſt of the latter it was indiſpenſably requiſite: and the objects which the former had hitherto in view were deemed to be unattainable without it.

Within a very ſhort period much certainly had been done in the way of improving the political condition of Ireland, and promoting concord and amity among its inhabitants. But in purſuit of theſe deſirable objects, much, confeſſedly, remained to be performed: and the approaching termination of the conteſt with America ſeemed likely to ſhorten the ſeaſon for exertions. The people of Ireland had obtained a free trade and legiſlative independence; but their manufacturing induſtry, which alone could enable them to avail themſelves fully of their commercial freedom, was ſtill repreſſed; and their ſyſtem of civil polity was not yet reformed or purified, in ſuch a manner, as to ſecure to them the enjoyment of thoſe various advantages which the people of Britain derived from theirs, and which the people of Ireland, living under a ſimilar form of government, were therefore unqueſtionably juſtified in ſeeking to obtain.

The Roman Catholics were, in a very great degree, relieved from the preſſure of a tyrannical code of laws; but they were not yet incorporated with the Proteſtants: they did not yet belong to the body politic: they could not, as yet, exerciſe any civil rights; and conſequently could not inſure the efficacy of the conſtitutional demands of the Proteſtants by the

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ſuperaddition of their numeral weight. In their then condition, it even ſeemed not impoſſible to employ them in weakening the endeavours of their Proteſtant countrymen.

The definitive treaties of peace with America, France, and Spain, which were ſigned in September 1783, and which were calculated to afford the Britiſh miniſtry additional means of reſiſting, with ſafety, ſuch demands on the part of the Iriſh people, as the former might deem it inexpedient to comply with, impoſed on the latter the neceſſity of proſecuting the work of national elevation expeditiouſly, and before Britain could be recovered from the effects of her late arduous ſtruggle; and the further neceſſity of augmenting the national ſtrength of Ireland by ſuch a union of its inhabitants as an equitable participation of civil rights could alone ſecure.

The concluſion of a general peace, ſeems, on the other hand, to have inſpired the government of Ireland, ſtill acting in ſubſervience to the views of that of Britain, with a degree of boldneſs which it had not manifeſted ſince the inſtitution of the volunteers. Six fencible regiments, paid by Great Britain, and officered chiefly by gentlemen enticed from the volunteers, were raiſed in Ireland, evidently with the intention of occaſioning an abandonment of the volunteer cauſe on the part of thoſe who were diſinclined to puſh to extremity the conteſt with government;—for if Ireland could ſafely ſpare one half of her troops, during the heat of the war, ſhe certainly ſtood not in need of an additional force after that war had been terminated: — and of thoſe who were diſinclined to engage in downright hoſtility with government, notwithſtanding its lamentable lack of patriotiſm, the proportion was very conſiderable. This meaſure was ſhortly afterwards ſucceeded by an attempt to reſtrain the liberty of the preſs, an infringement of the trial by jury, and ſeveral other acts indicative of increaſed courage on the part of government. The volunteers, however, continued undiſmayed; and though many withdrew when the war was at at end, the national force, by the acceſſion of Roman Catholics, was rather augmented than diminiſhed.

Under theſe circumſtances, government did not ſeem to think it prudent to rely ſolely on the aid of a military force: in fact, Britain was then too much debilitated, by the recent conteſt with her ſubjects in America, to admit of her engaging haſtily in another with the people of Ireland. Recourſe

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courſe was therefore had to other expedients alſo, for the purpoſe of checking the proſecution of the different meaſures which the patriotiſm of the Iriſh might ſuggeſt: expedients which, upon the whole, were perhaps as well ſuited to the end in view as an intimidating ſyſtem of dragooning. Beſides, the condition of the empire rendered it almoſt impoſſible to introduce an army ſufficiently numerous to diſarm, coerce or intimidate the volunteers.

In ſome inſtances, national pride was gratified: in a variety of others, either the pride, the ambition, or the avarice of individuals. Inſtitutions, pregnant in ſeveral caſes with much public benefit, and more or leſs calculated to extend the patronage of government, were ſucceſſively deviſed or ſupported; and a ſpirit of induſtry and enterpriſe was liberally encouraged. The order of St. Patrick was inſtituted, in 1783, with much pomp and ceremony. The national bank of Ireland was opened, in the ſame year, with a capital of one million and a half *. The general poſt-office was eſtabliſhed in the following year. New places were created. The penſion-liſt was ſwelled. Many were gratified by titles. The Duke of Rutland's conviviality and conciliatory manners were productive of no inconſiderable effect in diverting the higher orders from political ſpeculations. Dublin was improved and embelliſhed: ſeveral magnificent public ſtructures being undertaken, or carried on with increaſed ſpirit. The cuſtom-houſe, the building whereof was begun in 1781, and which was opened in 1791, had coſt no leſs than 262,381l. 19s. 7½d. in 13 years ended in 1794†. The fiſheries were promoted by liberal aid and bounties. The premiums on fiſhing buſſes granted in 6 years ended in 1786, amounted to 116,289l. 3s. 4d. Inland navigation, that eminently valuable national improvement, was proſecuted with unuſual ardour and ſkill, private intereſts being prudently combined much more cloſely with public intereſt than before; not, indeed, with that degree of ſkill, that degree of activity,

* The bank of Ireland notes in circulation, in Jan. 1804, amounted to 2,986,999l. 6s. 5½d.

† Expenſes of building the Cuſtom-houſe:

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1782— 7,707	4	5	1787—17,866	5	10	1791—27,433	1	4
3—22,855	16	1½	8—33,382	16	1½	2—42,991	19	7
4—21,433	5	11	9—34,946	14	3	3—27,973	15	9½
5—18,613	13	5½	1790—21,588	16	7½	4—20,824	10	1
6—16,760	6	6						

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and that degree of honeſty which are requiſite to render the expenditure of money on works of this nature productive of the utmoſt beneficial effects expected to reſult therefrom; but with ſo much of theſe requiſites as afforded the Iriſh people a practical knowledge of the advantages of inland navigation; and as preſerved, if not ſtrengthened the diſpoſition of government, and of wealthy individuals to perſevere in this moſt deſirable improvement. The grand canal, which opens a communication between the Iriſh ſea, or St. George's channel, and the Atlantic ocean, and which extends near 80 miles from the port of Dublin to the river Shannon, and 123 in all directions, the tardy and jobbing mode of carrying on which had, for ſo many years, afforded a fit ſubject for deep regret and ſevere reprehenſion, was at length, owing to the ſtimulus then given, and the proper precautions then taken, completed. In the year 1800, it had coſt, with its auxiliary branches, upwards of 1,281,191l., which, by the way, was above 300,000l. more than the coſt of the ſtupendous canal of Languedoc, in France, and infinitely more than it ought to have coſt; much of that ſum having been moſt injudiciouſly applied, and jobbingly ſquandered. The public benefit, however, reſulting from it, has already been ſuch as to compenſate, in a great degree, and will, it is to be hoped, ſoon compenſate fully for the extravagant expenditure of money which accompanied its progreſs. Its revenues have riſen ſince that time, in the following manner: viz.

Years.	£.	
1787—	6,984	
8—	10,560	
9—	11,770	
1790—	13,732	
1—	14,818	
2—	17,635	
3—	18,062	
4—	11,725	canal repairing.
5—	19,566	
1796—	23,636	
7 -	23,831	corn bounties withdrawn.
8—	19,518	year of the Rebellion.
9—	29,796	
1800—	36,944	
1—	42,524	
2—	47,100	
1807—	70,407 *	

The

* The accounts of the revenues of this Company, from the year 1787 to 1799 inclusive, are taken from the return made to parliament. From that year to 1802, inclusive, they are taken from the Statiſtical Survey of the county of Dublin. The account of the revenue in 1807 is taken from one of the newſpapers. The writer, with ſufficient encouragement, applied to the directors for information reſpecting the revenues of the company, in the years 1800-1-2-3-4-5-6 and 7; but was given to underſtand, by their ſecretary, Mr. Bagot,

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The royal canal, intended to terminate at Tarmonbury, on the Shannon, diſtant from Dublin about 87 miles, and thus open a valuable communication

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Bagot, that they did not think it proper to diſcloſe them. This was the only diſappointment which the writer experienced when collecting materials for this work; every individual, exerciſing a public function, and to whom he had occaſion to addreſs himſelf, having readily and cheerfully furniſhed him with abundant information. In the Statiſtical Survey juſt mentioned, the following quantities of coal and turf are ſtated to have been brought by the grand canal:-

Years.	*Coal.* Tons.	*Turf.* Tons.
1794	3,340	20,194
5	3,070	22,195
6	2,413	17,572
7	2,032	18,000
8	1,699	11,169
9	3,027	16,205
1800	3,062	25,207
1	2,532	29,278

The company were entitled by law to require *three*-pence toll per ton per mile. But by a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons on the 13th of December, 1783, the toll was to be reduced to 1½d. per mile, as ſoon as the canal ſhould be completed, and the money borrowed repaid. By 29 G. III. c. 33. the ſum of 57,100 l. was granted to the company, on condition of lowering the tolls on corn, meal, malt and flour brought to Dublin, by the canal, from any place ten miles below Athy, on the river Barrow, and ten miles below Banagher, on the Shannon: but the tolls on theſe and other articles, brought from other places, were ſuffered to remain as before. *Three*-pence conſequently is ſtill charged in many inſtances, two-pence in moſt; and, in no inſtance, as far as the writer's knowledge reaches, is the toll ſo low as 1½d. except on goods brought from the river Shannon to, or towards Dublin. Even in this caſe, the Directors reſerve to themſelves a power of raiſing the tolls when they may think fit. Their reſolution, of the 4th of October, runs thus, "Reſolved that for two years from the 10th day of October inſtant, and *until further order*, the toll on all goods, &c. brought from any part of the river Shannon, at or below the bridge of Portumna, on the river Shannon, to or towards Dublin, be no more than one penny half-penny per mile."

The Directors General of inland navigation offered 130,000 for a reduction of the tolls on corn, meal, malt, flour, and potatoes, to one penny; but the company refuſed. The company, on their part, offered to reduce the toll to 1½d. on condition of receiving 175,000; which the Directors General did not deem it expedient to grant.

The magnitude of the tolls charged by this company is manifeſtly diſadvantageous to the public, as well as to the proprietors and tenants of the land in the neighbourhood of the canal; and it might, by means of a ſimple diagram, be demonſtratively proved to be almoſt equally ſo to the company themſelves. Whether the repugnance of the directors to lower the tolls originate in timidity, occaſioned by the conſideration of the actual receipts of the company being ſcarcely equal to their neceſſary expenſes and juſt expectations, in conſequence

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tion between Lough Allen and the latter, a line of about 132 miles, was begun in 1789, with a ſubſcription on the part of individuals (wealth then beginning to increaſe in Ireland) amounting to 134,000l. and a parliamentary grant of 66,000l. It was to be completed for a million ſterling. But the expenſive line taken, in ſubſervience, as it is ſaid, to private intereſts, which have always notoriouſly been preferred to public good, in Ireland, has rendered that impoſſible. It extended in the year 1800, to Newcaſtle, 28 miles from Dublin; and had then coſt 300,000l. It is actually navigable to Coolnahay, 5 Iriſh miles beyond Mullingar; or about 58 Engliſh miles from Dublin. The trade on this canal now begins to increaſe rapidly. And the moderate tolls and charges for freight, which evince both wiſdom and liberality on the part of the company, will, no doubt, in a few years, when the people, in the neighbourhood of the canal, become ſo impreſſed with the vaſt advantage it affords as to engage actively in thoſe purſuits to which it is obviouſly calculated to give a tenfold advantage, have the ultimate effect of prodigiouſly increaſing the revenues of the company, and equally enriching the proprietors of the trade boats *. The navigation

of extravagance, miſmanagement, and negligence, the writer cannot take upon him to ſay. If ſuch be the caſe, he has only to obſerve, that fear, in this inſtance, as in others, makes the dreaded evil greater than it really is. But be this as it may, it ſeems highly neceſſary that the legiſlature ſhould interfere in behalf both of the company and the public. The grand canal is a public work of ſuch vaſt importance as to be juſtly entitled to perpetual ſolicitude on the part of the legiſlature. The appointment of a committee of inveſtigation, unleſs followed by ſuitable meaſures, is mere trifling. The tolls, freight and fare of the Paddington canal are not, upon the whole, one-half, nor indeed one-third ſo high as thoſe of the grand canal; and yet the former company have thriven exceedingly, already; and will, no doubt, become as rich a company of the kind as any in Europe.

The writer muſt likewiſe take this opportunity of preſſing upon the conſideration of the directors, the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the fraudulent practices of the perſons employed in navigating the trade-boats. Theſe practices, the writer has been informed, have prevented many perſons, living in the neighbourhood of the canal, from receiving their goods by it from Dublin.

* The tolls of this canal, which were always more moderate, as were alſo the fares, than thoſe of the grand canal, were lowered in conſequence of a large ſum of money, 95,866l, advanced to the company by the Directors General of inland navigation, to whom the application of 500,000 was intruſted at the time of the union. Theſe tolls are at preſent as follows: viz. 1d. per ton per mile, on corn, meal, malt, flour, iron wrought and unwrought, &c. (which, by the way, is one-half more than the toll on iron brought by the Paddington canal;) ½d. on

navigation of the river Boyne was, at public and private expenſe, at length completed in 1800 to Navan, 23 miles; and will probably be carried on to Trim, 12 miles further. The extenſive navigation of the river Barrow was alſo proſecuted; and is now nearly perfect. A hundred weight of merchandize may be brought from Dublin to Clonmel, by means of that river and the Suir, for 6d. which would coſt by land carriage eight ſhillings.

The bounties and aid to manufactures were liberal beyond precedent. In 1783, 4000 l. was granted for cotton machinery; and by 23 and 24 G. III. c. 12. the vice-treaſurer was directed to iſſue bills to the amount of 25,000 l. to Mr. Brooke, for carrying on the cotton manufacture in the county of Kildare. The bounties on manufactures from the year 1783 to 1789 inclusive, amounted to 115,000 l. The ſums granted in aid of manufactures, charities, and public works, in four years ended in 1788, amounted to 290,057l., beſides the annual grants to the truſtees of the linen

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½d. on potatoes, and 2d. on other goods and merchandize. The company likewiſe, by entering into competition with the traders, compelled them to reduce their charge for freight which now, in no caſe, exceeds 2d. per ton per mile. Even at this rate, if there were a briſk trade on the canal, which there is ample reaſon to expect ſoon, in conſequence partly of theſe reductions, every boat owner, attentive to his buſineſs, might clear 500l. a year, at leaſt. A ton of corn, conſiſting of 9½ average barrels of the ſeveral ſorts of grain, may now be tranſported, on this canal, to a diſtance of 50 miles, at the rate of 1s. 4½d. the barrel. The effect of which in augmenting the value of land in the neighbourhood of Coolnalway, which is nearly midway between ſea and ſea, is ſufficiently obvious; and its remote effect on home-manufactures, by increaſing the rental of the country, may eaſily be perceived.

That much greater attention may be paid by the Imperial Legiſlature, to the buſineſs of internal navigation, in Ireland, than has hitherto been the caſe, is earneſtly wiſhed by every reflecting Iriſhman who has the welfare of his country, and that of the empire at heart. Whether the following extract from the 31ſt report of the Commiſſioners of account afford any proof of the neceſſity of this increaſed attention, the writer leaves to the conſideration of others:

Account of the Directors General of inland navigation for one year ended 5th January 1805,

Eſtabliſhment - - - - - - - - - - -	£. 6,494 17 4
Dublin harbour, Newry navigation, Tyrone ditto, Maghery ditto, Limerick and Shannon ditto - - - - - - - - -	14,114 8 4

"Excluſive of the annual expenditure of the Directors, they have granted large ſums of money to different canal companies out of the 500,000l. appropriated by Parliament: of this only 42,000l. has hitherto been accounted for before us; and this only as to the expenditure of the money, not as to the progreſs or propriety of the works, the Directors being the proper perſons to decide on that, which they ſay they intend to do in due ſeaſon."

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manufacture, which were greater than before, and to the Dublin ſociety, &c. In three years, ended in 1786, there paſſed 185 acts; which was 4 more than had paſſed in 22 years ended in 1725; and, in the former period, the proportion of thoſe which tended to the advancement or regulation of trade, or to the general improvement of the country was, beyond all compariſon, greater than in the latter. In fact, there were but very few, if any acts paſſed in the reigns of Queen Anne or King George the Firſt, which were really advantageous to Ireland: nor was the number much augmented in that of King George the Second, nor any ways conſiderable before the legiſlative independence of Ireland was eſtabliſhed.

The money profuſely granted, at this period, was certainly not then miſapplied and jobbed away in ſo ſcandalous a manner as was the caſe about 1755, when there happened to be a credit to the nation of upwards of 400,000l. But notwithſtanding the powers with which the commiſſioners of impreſt accounts were ſeaſonably veſted by the 23 and 24 G. III. c. 26. there was, in moſt inſtances of expenditure, a ſhameful want of due economy: in many, an evident want of honeſty. Incapable perſons appear to have been frequently employed, through the influence of thoſe whom government felt a diſpoſition to gratify. And the practices of defaulters and peculators ſeem to have been, for the moſt part, deſignedly overlooked. That the policy of government, preparatory to the union, and even ſubſequently to that event, has tended to the increaſe of individual wealth at the expenſe of the public; or that, to ſpeak more freely, to the ſhame of government, Ireland is again ſuffered to be as notorious as ever for infamous and outrageous jobbing, the writer apprehends there would be found ample ground for believing, if the expenditure of public money, in every department, were narrowly inveſtigated.

On the 28th of October 1784, Sir Henry Cavendiſh, who was rarely ſeen in oppoſition to government, moved the following reſolution: viz. "that the condition of the country rendered it abſolutely neceſſary that all practicable retrenchments ſhould be made conſiſtently with the true intereſt of the kingdom, and the honourable ſupport of His Majeſty's revenue." This reſolution was grounded on the fact that the debt of Ireland was then little ſhort of *two* millions; upon which alſo, and upon the practices of government, Mr. Flood, in moving his amendment to Sir Henry Cavendiſh's motion, on the third of November, bottomed his obſervation, "that the

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the country was in imminent danger of being plunged into an abyſs of poverty and wretchedneſs." The obſervation was not altogether unwarrantable when made: a ſimilar one, with reſpect to the actual debt of Ireland, ought certainly to eſcape contradiction; that debt, annually augmented by additions far beyond the whole amount of the exiſting debt, in 1784, exceeding the enormous ſum of 70 millions; ſurpaſſing, by ſeveral millions, the cumberſome debt of Britain, at the acceſſion of George the Second; and falling but 2 millions ſhort of the whole debt which ſhe incurred during the brilliant war of 1756: a debt which ſeveral intelligent perſons conſidered as utterly incompatible with the proſperity of the country.

The conſideration of Sir Henry Cavendiſh's reſolution being ſubſequently reſumed with the countenance of government, the reſolution paſſed. But, as it aimed at no ſpecific retrenchment, it was of little avail. The amendment of Mr. Flood, having for its object a reduction of the army, which the fears of the ſubſervient government of Ireland would not admit of, but which was evidently conſiſtent with national ſafety, was rejected by one of thoſe great majorities, which, as the ſenſe of the people could have little influence on the guardians of the public purſe, returned as they were, any bungling miniſter could eaſily obtain, on any queſtion.

But however injudicious and reprehenſible the manner in which the public money, appropriated to different ſpecies of national improvement, was diſpoſed of, the bounties on manufactures and the liberal aid granted to enterpriſing individuals, and likewiſe the bounties on the exportation of corn, of which more hereafter, ſeconded by the various acts for the advancement, protection and regulation of trade, which were paſſed during that period, and by the then habitual and prevailing conſumption of the produce of Iriſh induſtry, and alſo by the return of peace, operated powerfully in reſcuing Ireland from the ſtate of poverty into which ſhe had fallen. The exportation of wool and yarn declined: that of woollen manufactures increaſed. The exportation of raw hides alſo declined; and the importation of cotton wool, and yarn increaſed moſt rapidly, and has continued to increaſe; ſo that from 822,788lbs. which was the annual average importation of three years ended in 1787, it has riſen to 4,249,668lbs. in the year ended 5th January 1808*, increaſing the wealth

* See Table marked IX. in the Appendix.

of

of the country by upwards of 1,000,000l. a year, and giving employment to near 100,000 perſons: an employment which, it is hoped, may not be narrowed by that diminution of protection, which, conformable to the act of union, muſt take place in this year, 1808. The general commercial dealings of Ireland were ſoon greatly extended; and the annual balance of trade in her favour ſoon greatly augmented *. The hat manufactures began to flouriſh, according to the evidence of Mr. Batty, given before the committee on Iriſh manufactures in 1784. The blanket and carpet manufactures were likely to thrive exceedingly in the event of their being fairly protected, according to the evidence of Meſſrs. Norton and Wilſon, the latter of whom ſtated that the ſpecies of carpet, next to Wilton, was better made in Ireland than in England. Cotton printing was ſaid, by Mr. Harper, to be as good, if not better, than in England. He alſo informed the committee that Iriſh printed cottons had been ſmuggled into that country †. That beautiful and unrivalled manufacture, the tabbinet, was greatly extended, ſo long as a patriotic predilection for Iriſh fabrics continued. And the Iriſh glaſs, in ſeveral of its branches, vied with, and was even thought to excel the Britiſh. The linen manufacture, which affords employment to ſo many thouſands of the bold and intelligent inhabitants of the north, and which, for the firſt time ſince the commencement of the century, had experienced a depreſſion towards the cloſe of the American war, quickly recovered; and ſoon flouriſhed infinitely more than ever, or perhaps than any other extenſive manufacture in Europe: ſo much ſo that the exportation thereof was nearly doubled in about ten years ‡. And with the riſe of theſe manufactures, but particularly with the increaſe of tillage, at length effectually encouraged, the augmentation of the rent of land kept pace, allaying, by its increaſe, that diſſatisfaction which the landed intereſt had begun to experience.

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* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

† Com. Journals.

‡ See Table marked VII. in the Appendix.

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SECTION III.

Digreſſion concerning the Bounties on the Exportation of Corn, granted in the Seſſion 1783-4, and their Effects.

BUT there was no ſpecies of encouragement, held forth to Iriſh induſtry, which produced, is actually producing, and is likely to produce ſuch beneficial, extenſive, and important effects, as the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn, and the wiſe regulations, with reſpect to that trade, which diſtinguiſhed the year 1784: effects which, in a peculiar manner, demand the attention of the ſtateſman, the landed proprietor, and indeed of every reflecting individual of the Iriſh and Britiſh nations. On theſe bounties, and their effects, it will therefore be requiſite to dwell for a conſiderable time; and thus to interrupt the narrative of the political affairs of Ireland.

The celebrated Adam Smith, who deſervedly holds a pre-eminent place among the more diſtinguiſhed political economiſts of Europe, appears to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of bounties on the exportation of corn; and, as uſual, fortifies his opinion with much ingenious reaſoning. His reaſoning is, however, in part, utterly inapplicable to the peculiar caſe of Ireland; in part, inconſiſtent with his occaſional obſervations on the ſubject of agriculture; and, in the caſe of Ireland, ſeems to be completely refuted by facts.

He ſets out with admitting, that bounties ought to be given to thoſe branches of trade which cannot be carried on without them *. It is not inſiſted on, that tillage could not have been extended in Ireland without the aid of bounties, though reaſons are not wanting to give, perhaps, ſufficient ſtrength to the aſſertion; but it is inſiſted on as fact, that the tillage of Ireland was not uniformly adequate to ſupply the demands of the Iriſh people, until after the bounties on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin were granted; and that it was inſufficient to preclude the neceſſity of introducing foreign corn into the Iriſh market, until after the efficacious

* Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 2.

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export bounties of the year 1784: and moreover that theſe bounties had the effect of occaſioning an unprecedented foreign ſale of the ſurplus produce of Iriſh tillage, to the annual amount of near half a million of money *, while the people of Ireland were eating bread at as cheap, or indeed at a cheaper rate than before †.

But a curſory view of the tables in the Appendix, marked I. II. III. IV. will be ſufficient to put the extremely beneficial tendency of corn bounties, nay their urgent neceſſity, in Ireland, wholly out of diſpute.

It is further to be obſerved, with regard to Ireland, that potatoes are the prevailing food of the inferiour orders; and conſequently that ſuch part of Adam Smith's reaſoning as is directed to evince the expediency of avoiding ſuch meaſures as ſeem calculated to raiſe the price of the neceſſaries of life, does not militate, in the leaſt degree, againſt encouraging the exportation of corn from Ireland. In truth, it might, without ſophiſtry, be employed in behalf of the meaſure.

The corn bounties have certainly extended the tillage of Ireland. The extenſion of its tillage has neceſſarily been accompanied by an increaſed demand for labour. This increaſed demand has occaſioned an enhancement of the wages thereof. And this enhancement has enabled the peaſant to pay more for the land he employs in ſupplying his family with potatoes; and to pay that augmented ſum with much greater eaſe than he could pay the ſmaller ſum demanded before the riſe of his wages originating in the extenſion of tillage. In ſome parts of Ireland, where, thirty years ago, the daily hire of a common labourer was ſixpence, the rent charged for an acre of land, to plant potatoes in, was about four guineas. In the ſame parts the hire is now eleven pence ‡ at leaſt, or one ſhilling; and conſequently,

* The annual average value of the corn exported, during five years ended in 1790, was 440,832l. 13s. 2d. That of the corn imported, only 7445l. 1s. 5d.: a ſum which ſeems little more than ſufficient to purchaſe ſeed of ſuperiour quality.

† It appeared before, by the evidence of Meſſrs. Strettle and Colville, that the average price of wheat was 50 ſhillings per quarter for 15 years ended in 1773. In the month of July in the year 1785, after the export bounties were granted, the middle price, in the Dublin market, was 49 ſhillings, in other parts of Ireland it was lower; and in the year 1793, which immediately ſucceeded two years of the greateſt exportation, before the year juſt concluded, the average price was as low as it had been twenty years before.

‡ See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

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though the rent of the potatoe land were doubled, the labourer is in a better condition. In the former caſe, he earned (deducting ſundays and holidays) 7l. 10s. a year; and had conſequently but 2l. 19s. over the rent of his potatoe garden: but in the latter, he earns 13l. 15s. a year; and conſequently has 4l. 13s. over the rent, even ſuppoſing it to be now 9l. 2s.* Beſides, in the former period he was not always employed, in the latter he is.

In conſequence of the inferiour orders of the Iriſh people ſubſiſting chiefly on potatoes, the corn of Ireland cannot with propriety be viewed in the ſame light with that of other countries. There, it is a mere neceſſary of life: here, it is rather an exportable manufacture, by the foreign vent whereof, thoſe who labour in preparing it for market are enabled to purchaſe that article of food which they have been in the habit of uſing. Some part of the Iriſh community may, no doubt, experience diſtreſs in the event of any great riſe in the price of bread-corn; but by far the greater part would be nowiſe affected thereby, and many might be thereby benefited. The increaſed demands of the diſtillers, the brewers, the augmented army, and the merchants who export corn to Britain have, of late years, raiſed its price enormouſly high; but the dearneſs of that article is ſcarcely, if at all, felt by the labouring poor of Ireland; and the little farmers, who are becoming every day more numerous, have derived the greateſt advantage from it.

The ſame admirable author, whoſe reaſonings have unavoidably been brought under conſideration, ſays, in ſome other part of his valuable work, that capital ſhould be allowed to take its own courſe, and not forced nor allured into any particular branch of trade. In ſeveral other parts of his work, already cited, he dwells upon agriculture as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſource of national wealth, and as the natural foundation for manufactures, and ultimately for foreign trade. And, on one occaſion, he ſays, that "when the capital of any country is not ſufficient for all thoſe three purpoſes (viz. agriculture, manufactures, and foreign trade,) in proportion as a greater ſhare of it is employed in agriculture the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts in motion within the country; as will likewiſe be the value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the ſociety †." If his encomiums on agriculture be well founded,

* Eight guineas, 9l. 2s. Iriſh. † Vol. i. p. 364.

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and unqueſtionably they are, they ſeem to juſtify the practice which he condemns, that of forcing or alluring capital to thoſe branches of buſineſs to which it would not have gone, or, which is almoſt the ſame thing, to which it did not go of its own accord. It is true he looks upon agriculture as the firſt way in which the capital of a country will be naturally employed; and may therefore be ſaid to have put that out of the queſtion. But it is equally true, in point of fact, that the capital of a country is not uniformly firſt employed in agriculture; and indeed he incidentally adduces ſeveral inſtances in proof of the fact.

About the time when it was reſolved on to encourage tillage in Ireland, by means of liberal bounties on the exportation of its products, there was but very little capital in the country; and the depreſſed condition of all its manufactures, except the linen, together with the reſtricted ſtate of its commerce, rendered the accumulation of capital almoſt impoſſible by any other means than paſturage and the linen manufacture. But three-fourths of the linen were, and are at this day, exported on Engliſh account; and the little capitals, acquired by the purſuit of paſturage, were either expended in acts of hoſpitality, or employed in the purchaſe of land. Under theſe circumſtances, the bounties on the exportation of grain had the effect of inducing the occupiers of land to embark their pecuniary acquiſitions in tillage: or in other words, that of turning the capital of the country into its firſt, natural and moſt productive courſe; into which it would not otherwiſe have gone; or at leaſt into which it had not gone before: and this effect ſoon became productive of other beneficial ones, thoſe of increaſing the number and wealth of the conſumers, and enabling individuals, in different branches of trade, to accumulate capital by ſupplying them with ſeveral of thoſe articles which had before been imported; and of theſe individuals ſome, the diſtillers and brewers for inſtance, gave, in their turns, that effective encouragement to agriculturiſts which the increaſed number and wealth of theſe had given to them. But of this more hereafter. The ſingle circumſtance of throwing about 60 or 70,000l. a year into the hands of enterpriſing corn-merchants, whoſe intereſt ſeems to prompt them to protect, encourage and improve the agriculture of the country, and whoſe increaſing capitals are, for the moſt part, deſtined to advance its trade in ſome line or other, was a circumſtance of by no means ſecondary importance. The bounty granted in the year ended in March 1786, was 57,142l.

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57,142l. 1s. 0¾d. and the value of the corn exported was 406,893l. 10s. 8¼d. which was about 14 per cent. to the merchants, beſides their other profits on the ſale. In other words, Ireland gained in that year, which was only the ſecond after the bounty was granted, 406,893l. by paying 57,142l. to her own corn merchants; in whoſe hands there was every reaſon to expect that that ſum would be turned to the beſt national account. From the 25th of March 1785 to the ſame day in 1795, the value of the corn exported from Ireland was 4,256,360l. 12s. 7¼d., that of the corn imported, 213,546l. 4s. 8½d., leaving a balance in favour of the country amounting to 4,042,811l. 7s. 9¾d., or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. per annum.

The act which held forth the efficacious bounties on the exportation of corn from Ireland, paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1783-4, and ſtands as the 19th among the acts of that ſeſſion. It granted 3s. 4d. for every barrel of wheat exported, 1s. 4d. for every hundred weight of wheatmeal, or malt of wheat, and 1s. 11d. for every hundred weight of flour or wheaten bread or biſcuit, when the price of wheat was not above 27s. the barrel; 1s. 7d. for every barrel of barley, bere or big; 2s. for every barrel of malt; and 1s. for every hundred weight of flour or meal made of barley, bere, or big, when the price of barley did not exceed 13s. 6d. the barrel; 2s. 2d. for every barrel of rye and for every hundred weight of ryemeal or flour when the price of rye did not exceed 23s. the barrel; 1s. 5d. for every barrel of oats or hundred weight of oatmeal when the price of oats did not exceed 10s. the barrel; 3s. 4d. for every barrel of white peaſe, when the price did not exceed 27s.; and 2s. for every barrel of grey peaſe when the price did not exceed 16s. 3d. This act moreover prohibited the exportation of wheat when its price was at 30s., rye when at 25s., barley when at 14s. 6d., oats and oatmeal when at 11s., white peaſe when at 30s., and grey peaſe when at 18s. 3d. the barrel. Beſides this prudent prohibition, it impoſed a duty of 10s. on every barrel of wheat imported, when the price at the place of importation was under 30s.; a ſimilar duty on rye when under 26s.; a ſimilar one on barley, and 1s. on every ſtone of malt when barley was under 14s. 6d.; 5s. on oats when under 11s.; 10s. on white peaſe when under 30s.; and the ſame on grey peaſe, when under 18s. 3d; and when the prices were above the aforeſaid, a duty of 2d. for every barrel of grain, and 2d. for every hundred weight of malt imported in lieu of all former duties. But when the price of wheat, in Dublin, was under 30s. and not

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leſs than 27s., that of rye under 26s. and not leſs than 23s., that of barley under 14s. 6d., and not leſs than 13s. 6d., that of oats under 11s. and not leſs than 10s., white peaſe under 30s., and not leſs than 27s., grey peaſe and beans under 18s. 6d., and not leſs than 16s. 3d. the barrel, the duty on importation from Great Britain was only 2d. the barrel of grain, and 2d. the hundred weight of meal. This act likewiſe granted bounties on the importation of Iriſh oats and oatmeal into the province of Ulſter, whenever the exportation of theſe from that province ſhould be prohibited. The 25 G. III. c. 10, was merely ſupplementary to this act, and was rendered neceſſary by an omiſſion in the latter. It provided that when rye or meſlin ſhould be ſubject to a duty of 10s. on importation, there ſhould be paid, for every ſtone of rye or meſlin meal 6d.; that when barley, bere, or big ſhould be ſubject to the ſame duty there ſhould be paid 7½d. for every ſtone of meal thereof imported; that when wheat ſhould be ſubject to a duty of 10s. there ſhould be paid 6d. for every ſtone of wheatmeal, and 9d. for every ſtone of flour or biſcuit imported; that when oats ſhould be ſubject to a duty of 5s. there ſhould be paid 5s. for every hundred weight of oatmeal imported; and that when peaſe or beans ſhould be ſubject to a duty of 10s., there ſhould be paid 6d. for every ſtone of the meal thereof imported. The effects of the act 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19. with reference to the corn export trade of Ireland, are viſible in the tables in the Appendix. The firſt of theſe tables ſhews the quantity of corn exported from Ireland, in ſucceſſive periods of four years ſince the commencement of the laſt century, as entered in the cuſtom-houſe books. The ſecond ſhews the import. The third the average annual exceſs of export and import. And the fourth, grounded on the former ones, will ſerve to keep the reader clear of thoſe errors which, in conſequence of frequent variations in the weights of corn during the laſt century, he would, without the aid thereof, inevitably fall into.

Before the year 1733, the corn exported and imported was computed by the buſhel, or by the quarter containing eight buſhels, without noticing the weight of either. By the 7 G. II. c. 15. it was enacted that from September 1734, every quarter of wheat, barley, bere, oats, &c. ſhould weigh 40 ſtones. By the 25 G. II. c. 15. it was enacted that from the 1ſt day of Auguſt 1752, 40 ſtones of wheat, rye, meſlin, peaſe and beans ſhould be deemed equal to one quarter, 24 ſtones of barley or bere, 22 ſtones of oats, and 21 ſtones of malt, to one quarter alſo. By the 13 & 14 G. III. c. 11. the half

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half quarter, or 4 buſhels of wheat, rye, peaſe, beans, meal and flour made of wheat, was made equivalent to 224lbs. from the 24th of June 1774. This brought the quarter of wheat to within half a ſtone of the medium weight. By the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17. the Engliſh exportation meaſures of all ſorts of grain and meal, except oatmeal, were adopted. And by the act under conſideration, it was ordered that all ſorts of grain ſhould be computed, on exportation and importation, by the barrel, and meal and flour by the hundred weight; and that the barrel of wheat ſhould weigh 20 ſtones, thoſe of barley and bere 16, that of oats 14, that of malt 12, &c. and ſo it has continued. Theſe variations have an evident tendency to miſlead the inquirer. Thus in the 4th period of the firſt table, which contained the greateſt exportation that took place near the commencement of the laſt century, the quantity of oats, wheat, and barley exported was 334,324 quarters, which, according to the average weights of the ſeveral ſorts of grain was equal to 563,144 barrels, each reſpectively weighing the number of ſtones preſcribed by the exiſting law: in which ſtate alone it can be fairly compared with the quantity exported in the period ended in 1792, which was 2,953,859 barrels of unground corn. Again, the importation of the period ended in the year 1748, was 453,270 quarters of 40 ſtones each, making 1,059,221 barrels. This was the greateſt importation during the century; but it would appear conſiderably leſs than the importation of the period ended in 1756, unleſs both were reduced to a uniform ſtandard. Nor would it exhibit ſo great a contraſt as it really does with the exportation of the period ended in 1792. In order then to preclude erroneous concluſions, it became neceſſary to ſuperadd the laſt of theſe tables, in which the annual average quantity of all the corn exported and imported is reduced to the different barrels appointed by the act under conſideration *.

It will be ſeen by theſe tables, that the quantity of corn, meal and flour exported in twelve years after the paſſing of the act, exceeded that which was exported in the *eighty-four* years which preceded it: but that the quantity imported, during the eight years which immediately preceded the act,

* The quantity of malt exported or imported was ſo trifling compared with barley, that the barrel of the latter only has been employed. Beſides with reference to produce they are equivalent to each other.

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was nearly equal to that which was imported in the twenty years which followed it; although there occurred two years of uncommon ſcarcity during the latter period. It will alſo be ſeen that the annual average exceſs of the corn ground and unground exported, beyond that which was imported, in the period which ſucceeded the act, was, to a ſimilar average exceſs in the period which preceded it, as nearly nine to one.

By the returns which were preſented to parliament, on different occaſions, it appears that the value of the corn exported from, and imported into Ireland, during ten years ſubſequent to 1785, was as follows: viz.

Year ended 25th March.	Corn, &c. exported. £.	s.	d.	Corn, &c. imported. £.	s.	d.
1786	406,893	10	8¾	24,610	8	0
1787	377,743	5	4	4,410	17	3
1788	256,492	17	4	4,467	19	0
1789	548,147	19	0½	1,394	7	3
1790	614,885	14	6½	2,341	15	9
1791	549,652	7	6½	1,719	7	1½
1792	494,295	16	2	4,099	19	6
1793	423,386	17	2	23,581	14	7
1794	280,181	13	1½	3,602	2	0
1795	304,680	11	8	143,317	14	3
	4,256,360	12	7¼	213,546	4	8½

So that, contrary to what had ever before been the caſe, Ireland gained by her corn trade, in ten years, a balance of 4,042,811l. 7s. 9¼d., or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. a year, and, contrary alſo to what had been the caſe before, plenty uniformly prevailed in the country.

The value of the corn and meal exported, in the year ended 5th January 1804, was 546,495l. 19s.; that of the corn and meal exported in the year ended in 1807, though valued below the medium prices current in Dublin in the beginning of that year, appears to have been 787,274l.; that of the corn and meal exported laſt year, will be found to amount to a million ſterling; which is equal to the value of the corn exported from England, during the moſt proſperous period of her corn-trade: and this great export, though not directly occaſioned by the bounties, was evidently the effect thereof*. To this gain ſhould be added the increaſed gain ariſing from

* There were exported from Ireland to Britain, laſt year, 837,122 barrels of wheat, barley, and oats. Thus, with a greatly increaſed population, has Ireland been rendered competent to contribute largely to the ſupport of the inhabitants of a country, on which ſhe formerly depended, in a very conſiderable degree, for her requiſite ſupply of corn.

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the exportation of pork; the pigs being reared chiefly by the lower claſſes of people, engaged in agriculture, whoſe number muſt neceſſarily have been increaſed with the increaſe thereof: and accordingly it will be found by the Table marked V. in the Appendix, that the exportation of pork has, for the moſt part, been commenſurate with the increaſe of tillage. The difference between the quantity exported in four years ended in March 1788, and in four years ended in March 1796, was 200,231 barrels; the value of which, at the then price current, viz. 3l. 4s. 7¼d. per barrel, was 646,992l. 5s. 0½d., or 161,748l. 1s. 3d. on an average yearly. And the difference between the number of flitches of bacon exported in three years ended in 1785, and three years ended 1795, was 109,809, worth 131,769l., or 43,923l. on an average each year; which, with the pork and corn, making together 609,952l., may be conſidered as the annual national gain accruing from the corn act in about ten years after the commencement of its operation. The value of the produce of the pig-ſty alone, exported laſt year, amounted to nearly twice this ſum *; which, yielding annually to the exporting merchants a profit of 10 per cent. at the loweſt, may be ſaid to have furniſhed 60,000l. a year for the encouragement of the trade of Ireland; and that ſum, ſo furniſhed and ſo diſtributed, muſt have had much greater and more varied efficacy than twice its amount annually applied to the ſame purpoſe, and with the utmoſt ſcrupulouſneſs, under the directions of the legiſlature.

It is to be obſerved alſo, that the increaſe of tillage, conſequent on the bounties of this act, prevented an immenſe efflux of money during the late years of ſcarcity: an efflux which might not have been compenſated by a favourable balance of trade for two or three years. The barley, malt, wheat and oats imported in three years, ended in January 1802, amounted to no more than 126,414 barrels; the flour and meal to no more than 121,148½ cwts; the value of both of which did not much exceed 300,000l.; whereas in the period of four years ended in March 1748, the average exceſs of corn, meal and flour imported, over that which was exported, amounted to 255,567l. *annually*. What the exceſs of the quantity of corn imported, would have been beyond that of the corn exported, in

* Exported from Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1808, hogs 17,345, barrels of pork 283,665, flitches 291,019, hams 5,834 cwts., lard 19,885 cwts.

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the three years ended in 1802, had the tillage of Ireland remained in the ſtate in which it was in the year 1748, it is hard to conjecture: it probably, however, would have exceeded one million of barrels; allowance being made for an increaſe of people much more tardy than that which marked any conſiderable period of the century: and this million of barrels would probably have coſt the country one million of money more than it paid for the corn which it was under the neceſſity of purchaſing for the ſupply of a population which has increaſed more rapidly than that of any other country in Europe. The wheat and flour imported into England, in a ſingle year, from September 1799 to September 1800, is ſtated to have been to the amount of 6,500,000l. The value of corn of all ſorts imported in the year 1806, was ſtated to be 1,937,608l. *

But though the tillage of Ireland appears to have been wonderfully extended by the operation of this act; its paſture land has not experienced the leaſt diminution. On the contrary, its quantity has been evidently augmented. Had the effects of the act been limited merely to tranſmuting the paſturage into tillage, it would demonſtrably have been a ſignal national benefit. But while it ſecured the vaſt and various advantages ariſing from the extenſion of the latter, it does not appear to have trenched in the leaſt on the former. The average annual quantity of beef exported during the period which immediately preceded that in which the act paſſed, was 171,486 barrels, the average annual quantity exported in the period which immediately followed that which is diſtinguiſhed by the act, was 144,886 barrels, or 26,600 leſs than in the former period †. Theſe 26,600 would require 13,300 beaſts; and the fattening of theſe would require about 39,900 Engliſh acres of middling land ‡. Thus far there ſeems to have been a diminution of paſturage. But, in the former period, the average annual quantity of butter exported was 248,586 cwts., and in the latter 299,569 cwts., which exceeded that of the former by 50,983 cwts., for

* Oats, 510,242 qrs. 3 lbs. at 25s. 8d. 654,811 l.; wheat 318,917qrs. at 79s. 1,259,722l.; all grain together, 840,295 qrs. 4lbs.

† See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

‡ Some of the rich land in the counties of Limerick, Clare, &c. will, as Mr. Young was informed, fatten a bullock per Iriſh acre (1a. 2r. $19\frac{21}{121}$p.) beſides affording paſture for ſheep in the ſame year. The produce of butter from each cow on an average in many parts of the South is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

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the production of which 40,782 cows were requiſite, each yielding on an average $1\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of butter; and their maintenance required 122,346 acres of middling land; from which the number of acres ſaved by the diminiſhed export of beef (39,900) being deducted, there will be found to be 83,446 acres more in paſture, during the period ſubſequent, than during the period antecedent to that in which the corn bounties were held forth; without taking to account the vaſt increaſe of the home demand; or the land employed in rearing the cattle. Again, during the period in which the act paſſed, viz. that ended in March 1784, the average annual quantity of beef exported was 171,158 barrels, and the average quantity of the laſt period of the century, ſixteen years from the former, was 130,480 barrels, or 40,678 leſs, requiring 61,017 acres leſs; but the average quantity of butter exported in the former period being only 251,542 cwts. and that exported in the latter being 291,041, the dairy land in this caſe contained 94,797 acres more than in that; from which if the defalcation from the land employed in fattening, viz. 61,017 acres, be deducted, the land appropriated to cattle will be found to contain 33,780 acres, more in the latter period than in the former. But in truth it muſt have contained a vaſt deal more. For firſt, the trade of Ireland, and conſequently the ſhips employed therein, had greatly increaſed in theſe ſixteen years, (indeed it was the period of its greateſt increaſe) and the quantity of freſh proviſions taken on board theſe ſhips, and of which no return is made at the Cuſtom-houſe, muſt have increaſed in an equal ratio *. Secondly, the quantity of beef ſhipped by the navy agents, for the uſe of His Majeſty's fleets, and the freſh beef taken by the men of war when in Iriſh ports, of neither of which any return is made, muſt have been infinitely greater during the latter than during the former period; the latter being a period of war, the former a period of peace. Thirdly, the quantity of beef conſumed by the army in Ireland was beyond all compariſon greater in the latter than in the former period. In the year 1785, there were only 638 horſe, 1,318 dragoons, 8,185 foot, 520 invalids, 333 artillery, and 53 invalid artillerymen: in all 11,047. But in the year ended in March 1800, there

* The Inſpector General of exports and imports, Mr. Marſhal, ſtated before the Exchange committee in 1804, that the ſhips employed then in the trade of Ireland performed upwards of 7,000 voyages, annually, from it.

were 10,364 cavalry, 72,667 infantry, including invalids, and 1,500 artillery; beſides the men belonging to the commiſſariat department, light artillery, &c. making altogether upwards of 84,531, which was, by the way, within 29 of the whole number of effectives, in the Britiſh army, on an average of the years 1779, 1780, during the height of the American war: a number which, with 37,539 yeomen, augmented afterwards to 84,941, was deemed neceſſary to keep down 279,896 armed rebels; ſuch being the number diſcovered by the papers found on Lord Edward Fitzgerald: or it might have been for ſome other purpoſe. The difference in point of number between this army, excluſive of the yeomen, and the army of Ireland in 1785, was 73,484, at leaſt, who probably conſumed half a pound of beef per day per man, together with other proviſions, making the annual conſumption equivalent to 55,405 barrels; which alone was 14,727 barrels more than the deficiency in the export before alluded to; and required 90,106 acres; which being added to the increaſed quantity of land devoted to the dairy, viz. 33,780 acres, make 123,886 acres, under cattle, more in the latter period, when tillage had become unprecedentedly extenſive, than in the former, when its extenſion was meditated. There are other conſiderations alſo, which might be brought to prove that the paſturage of Ireland was greatly increaſed, during the laſt ſixteen years of the paſt century, notwithſtanding the immenſely augmented and increaſing ſtate of its tillage; it ſeems, however, unneceſſary to introduce them. The additional number of live cattle annually exported in the laſt period, viz. 17,285 *, may be adduced as an evidence of the amelioration of mountain land, and the increaſe of paſturage.

But the greatly increaſed quantity of corn exported, and the greatly diminiſhed quantity imported, under the operation of this act, as ſeen in the tables, will give no other than a very faint and imperfect idea of the great extenſion of tillage in Ireland. To diſcover this, recourſe muſt be had to other conſiderations and other documents. If the population of Ireland amounted, in 1787, according to Mr. Buſhe, to about 4 millions, and there ſeems no reaſon to ſuſpect it did not, for it amounted to 4,206,612 in 1791, it either muſt actually amount to upwards of 5 millions, (it will probably be found to be 5$\frac{1}{4}$ millions,) or it muſt have increaſed much ſlower

* See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

than

than at any former period of the laſt century; which ſeems utterly incredible, as the circumſtances of the country were, upon the whole, infinitely more favourable to an increaſe of people, during the laſt twenty years, than during any former period, of equal extent. And if the population of Ireland has experienced an acceſſion of one million, then there muſt be, at leaſt, one million and a half more of acres in a ſtate of cultivation than there were in the year 1787; for if ſo ſmall a quantity of land as one acre and a half ſufficed for the maintenance of each individual, on an average, then the cultivated land alone of Ireland, amounting to 13,454,375 acres *, would ſupport 8,969,583 people; or nearly as many as England actually contains. It would be going too far out of the way to enter into an examination of the facts which conduce to prove that the population of Ireland has experienced an acceſſion of the magnitude before mentioned †. Any perſon who will reflect on the increaſe of the linen and cotton manufactures, the increaſed conſumption of ſpirits, malt-liquor, &c. the encreaſed quantity of corn exported, keeping in mind this obvious truth, that no portion of the people of Ireland has been drawn from one occupation to another, will find himſelf ſufficiently aided in believing the fact. The number of yards of plain linen exported, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1807, was 41,162,046, the number exported, on an average of three years, ended 25th March 1782, was only 19,619,168. The average quantity of cotton-wool and yarn imported in three years ended in 1786, was 476,112lbs. the quantity imported in three years ended in 1808, was 4,249,668lbs. To ſupport the increaſing number of people employed in theſe manufactures alone ſince 1784, without taking to account the other additional conſumers, whoſe increaſe kept pace with theirs, muſt have required the appropriation of a very conſiderable additional number of acres to tillage.

The increaſed conſumption of certain articles has been objected to as an evidence of the increaſe of people, and conſidered merely as a proof of increaſed wealth. But if it be ſo of the latter, it muſt, at leaſt to a conſiderable degree, be ſo likewiſe of the former: for the people of a country have ſeldom been found to increaſe in wealth without at the ſame time increaſing in number; eſpecially where there is but one or two valuable

* See Part I. ſect. 4.

† See an Inquiry into the progreſs and magnitude of the population of Ireland.

manu-

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manufactures, as is the caſe with Ireland; and the increaſe of wealth ariſes from an augmented ſale partly of theſe and partly of the produce of the land. But the increaſed conſumption of certain articles proves, beyond diſpute, a proportionate increaſe of people. Thus, for inſtance, in a period of four years, ended 25th March 1780, the average quantity of ſpirits which paid duty annually, when the duty thereon was 1s. 2d. the gallon, and no duty on malt exiſted, was 1,768,042 gallons; but the quantity returned laſt year, under a duty of 10s. 10d. the barrel on malt, and 4s. 5d. the gallon on ſpirits, and when conſequently the temptation to ſmuggling was greatly increaſed, was 5,704,158 gallons. Now after deducting from this number 648,706 gallons, being the quantity exported, there will remain, without taking to account the vaſt number of gallons which eſcape the payment of duty, 5,055,452 gallons, which after making a deduction from the inhabitants amounting to 1,800,000, for children under the age of 12 years, and ſuch deduction from 5,500,000 people is well warranted by facts, there will remain, for each conſuming individual of a population of 5,500,000, upwards of $1\frac{1}{3}$ gallon, or about 11 pints each, which may fairly be conſidered as nearly equal to their actual conſumption, if there be added to it the quantity of foreign wine and ſpirits annually conſumed, and alſo the quantity of porter, the uſe of which, in preference to ſpirits, is known to prevail more and more every year in every county in Ireland, except four or five.

The quantity of tobacco retained for home conſumption in England, on an average of ſix years ended 5th January 1806, was 11,988,871 lbs. the quantity imported into Ireland, from whence the export was too trivial to be noticed, during the ſame period, and on the ſame average, was 6,390,085 lbs. This, if the uſe of tobacco be equally prevalent in both countries, but it ſeems to be more ſo in England than in Ireland, would imply the exiſtence of upwards of 4,982,272 people in the latter.

The increaſed conſumption of ſugar may be conſidered, perhaps, with better reaſon, as an evidence of increaſed wealth than either of the foregoing articles. Yet a compariſon between England and Ireland at different periods ſeems to authoriſe the employing the increaſed conſumption of this article alſo as a proof of a proportionate increaſe of people. The quantity retained for home conſumption in England, in the year 1700, was

306,092

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306,092 cwts. The quantity imported into Ireland*, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 324,477 cwts. The population of the former amounted, according to Gregory King in 1696, to 5,500,000; but was generally conſidered by the beſt informed perſons to amount to 7 millions. From whence it may reaſonably be inferred, that the exiſting population of Ireland amounts to 5,500,000, unleſs it can be ſatisfactorily ſhewn that the more numerous claſſes of the Iriſh community are actually a vaſt deal more wealthy than thoſe of the Engliſh community were in 1700, which I apprehend is not the caſe.

—But the documents which furniſh evidence of an increaſed internal conſumption of grain will ſufficiently demonſtrate the great extenſion of tillage ſince 1784. The average annual quantity of ſpirits made in the period ended in that year, was 1,768,042 gallons; the quantity made in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 5,704,158; being an increaſe of 3,936,116 gallons; which, if extracted wholly from barley, would require the produce of 75,694 additional acres†, according to the average produce in Ireland, as ſtated by Mr. Young. To this ſhould be added the increaſed quantity of ſpirits, made in the latter period, which evaded the payment of duty. Reſpecting this quantity, a conjecture may be made which will approximate the truth ſufficiently for the preſent purpoſe. The duty on ſpirits in 1785, was 1s. 2d. per gallon, the duty on malt in the year ended in 1786 (being the firſt of the malt duty) was 2s. 6d.; but in the year ended in 1808, the former was 4s. 5d., and the latter 10s. 10d., ſo that the temptation to ſmuggling was nearly quadrupled. It appeared by the evidences of Meſſrs. Edwards and Forbes, before the committee appointed to inquire into the late ſcarcity of proviſions, that whiſkey illegally made could be ſold for half the price of legal whiſkey; " that not half the ſpirit or malt

* The quantity of all colonial or American produce exported from Ireland is very trifling. The total quantity of ſugar exported during three years, ended 25th March 1799, was only 29,434 cwts. The total quantity exported during three years ended 5th January 1806 was but 1,388.

† The average produce per acre is 6½ barrels, 16 ſtones each. The barrel of barley is conſidered as equivalent to 12 ſtones of malt, which will make 6 gallons of whiſkey. From 11 ſtones of oats 5 gallons are extracted.

duties

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duties were collected; and that *public ſtills did more illicit work than private clandeſtine ſtills.*"

That the number of gallons of ſpirits made does greatly exceed the number returned, although, in the laſt year, this was unprecedently great, the writer does not entertain a doubt.

In ſeveral of the ſtatiſtical ſurveys, it is ſtated, that the uſe of malt liquor increaſes greatly. In the province of Munſter, to which theſe ſurveys have not as yet extended, there is an almoſt univerſal and decided preference given to it.

By the 5th report of the Commiſſioners, appointed to inquire into the fees, gratuities, &c. of public offices in Ireland, it appears that 4,131 private ſtills, 3,190 heads, and 2,809 worms were ſeized in the year 1802*. Theſe commiſſioners grounded an opinion, on the detection of illicit diſtilleries, that one-third of the ſpirits annually conſumed paid no duty. And this opinion, concurrent with an opinion held by the writer, on a former occaſion †, has ſince been fully confirmed by the activity of the commiſ. of the Revenue ‡. If the illicit work done by public ſtills, according to the evidence of Mr. Edwards, be taken to account, it may ſafely be computed, that, notwithſtanding the laudable and effectual exertions of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, one-fifth, at leaſt, of the ſpirits made does ſtill evade the payment of duty; as that duty is at preſent 4s. 5d. per gallon,

* The number of legal ſtills in Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1805, as returned to parliament, was 117; and their contents 88,960 gallons. The number of illegal ſtills ſeized, as above, in 1802, was 4,131. If theſe contained only 22 gallons, on an average, each, their contents would amount to 90,882 gallons; or 1,922 gallons more than the contents of all the legal ſtills in Ireland in the year 1802, when 4,805,196 gallons paid duty. The number of licences granted to retailers of ſpirits in the year ended 29th September 1803, was 10,180. The quantity of ſpirits that paid duty in the year ended 5th January 1803, was 4,805,196 gallons. Each retailer, therefore, one with another, appears to have ſold 472 gallons, beſides a large proportion of illegal ſpirits, and alſo foreign ſpirits. But to thoſe who are acquainted with the circumſtances of the country publicans, in Ireland, this is not credible. That a vaſt number retailed ſpirits without licences is the fact. An advertiſement from the Mayor of Cork in 1805, announces his having received information that 200 perſons, in that city, did ſo.

† Inquiry into the population of Ireland printed in 1804. The Report of the Commiſſioners was ordered to be printed in 1806.

‡ See Table in the Appendix, marked XIII.

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inſtead of 2s. 6d. as in the year 1800, when he gave his evidence, and the exciſe duty on malt 10s. 10d., inſtead of 6s., as then; and conſequently the temptation to illicit practices almoſt doubled.

If it be aſſumed then, that 750,000 gallons eſcape the payment of duty more than did in 1785, the number of acres added to the tillage land, by the increaſed conſumption of ſpirits, will appear to be 90,109.

The average quantity of home-made ale which annually paid duty in the period ended in 1784, before the malt tax was impoſed, was 459,860 barrels. The quantity computed to be annually made, on an average of the years 1807, 1808, is 750,726 barrels *, being 290,866 more than in the former period. But that the difference was infinitely greater, the writer has abundant reaſon for believing.

The reſult of ſeveral incidental inquiries which he made, in different places in the province of Munſter, remote from each other, is, that 20 gallons of porter, at leaſt, are conſumed for one gallon of whiſkey. By a return, made to the writer, of the quantity of ſpirits and porter conſumed in the town of Cove, it appears that there were 10,000 gallons of the former, in 1806, and 6,000 tierces, or 252,000 gallons of the latter; which is upwards of 25 to 1. According to the information of the writer's much eſteemed and truly amiable friend, the intelligent and ſcrupulouſly accurate Lord Carberry, the quantity of malt-liquor actually conſumed in the diſtrict of Roſscarberry, upwards of 40 miles diſtant from Cove, is about 200 tierces, or 8,400 gallons, per month; and the quantity of ſpirits leſs than 5 puncheons, or 420 gallons. So that the conſumption of porter there is as 20 gallons for 1 of ſpirits. In all the public houſes in the pariſh of Carrigoline, and the neighbouring ones, the conſumption of porter is, to that of ſpirits, as 40 to 1. Now if we ſuppoſe that the conſumption, through Ireland, is as only 8 to 1, then there are made 1,422,914 barrels of ſtrong beer, or porter; or near twice the quantity computed.

And if ſuch be the caſe, as no doubt it is, either the porter brewers muſt uſe an infinitely ſmaller proportion of malt than the public are in the habit of giving them credit for uſing; or, which is by far the more likely of the two, the inferiour officers of the revenue are guilty of criminal connivance

* See Table, in the Appendix, marked XIII.

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and a flagrant departure from their duty. In truth, the domeſtic eſtabliſhments of ſeveral of theſe officers, and the various other evidences of wealth which they exhibit, together with a knowledge of the inveterate and complicated ſyſtem of fraud, colluſion, jobbing, and peculation which has always diſtinguiſhed Ireland, and pervaded every department in it, afford ample ground for a ſuſpicion of this nature.

The number of barrels of malt annually made, on an average, during a period of 4 years ended in March 1792, was 1,078,727. The quantity of ſpirits annually made, during the ſame period, was 3,189,133 gallons: the quantity of ſtrong-beer 455,699 barrels: and the quantity of ſmall-beer 215,902 barrels. But the number of barrels of malt made, on an average of the two years ended 5th January 1808, was only 660,896 barrels; although the quantity of ſpirits annually made, during the ſame time, was 4,817,993 gallons: the quantity of ſtrong-beer 750,726 barrels: and the quantity of ſmall-beer, 283,201 barrels. So that with 417,831 barrels of malt *leſs* than in the former period, there have been made 1,628,860 more gallons of ſpirits, 295,027 more barrels of ſtrong, and 67,299 of ſmall beer. The uſe of oats inſtead of barley-malt, in the diſtilleries, has no doubt become greatly more prevalent than formerly, on account of the increaſed duty on the latter: but ſtill there will be left ſufficient reaſon for ſuſpecting, that, as Mr. Edwards affirmed, not more than one half the duty on malt is collected; and that there is actually about twice as much ſtrong beer made as computed.

Preſuming then, upon fair grounds, that there are annually made, at leaſt, 800,000 barrels of ſtrong beer, more than in the period ended in 1784, there muſt now be employed in the culture of barley, for the breweries, near 50,000 acres more than then; including the additional number neceſſary for the produce of the malt uſed in making ſmall beer.

The quantity of beer and ale imported, ſince the year 1748, was as follows: viz.

In four years ended in	1752	59,843 barrels.
	1756	70,945
	1760	56,237
	1764	87,878
	1768	130,256
	1772	175,730
	1776	231,529
	1780	231,898

1784.

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	1784	226,567
	1788	246,880
	1792	426,771
	1796	332,448
	1800	162,981
3½ 5th January	1804	38,016
2 years	1806	5,303

By this account it appears, that the quantity of ale imported had nearly doubled in twelve years ended in 1792; about which year the porter breweries began to be eſtabliſhed. Now it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that had it not been for the home ſupply, the quantity imported, in the laſt 14 years, would, at the end of the period, have been much more than double the quantity imported during the period ended in 1792; or, in ſhort, that the annual average quantity imported would have been about 220,000 barrels. The home ſupply therefore, if the average quantity made in 1807-8 be in reality but 295,027 barrels, as before mentioned, more than the average quantity made in the period ended in 1784, has gone little further than merely to ſuperſede the neceſſary importation. But it is obvious to every one, that the number of breweries in Ireland has been augmented ſince the year 1792; that the additional ones are on a much more extenſive ſcale than the former ones; and that the proprietors reſort to every expedient (the writer hopes with increaſed ſucceſs) to induce the people to prefer their liquor to whiſkey. And it is not to be believed that all theſe additional and greatly enlarged breweries manufacture no more than 295,027 additional barrels of porter or ſtrong beer. The porter breweries of the city of Cork alone, which may almoſt vie in extent with ſome of the principal ones in London, will probably be found to produce near that quantity. Nor is it to be believed, that, in the city of London * alone, there are brewed 189,174 barrels of porter more than in all Ireland. But to proceed to other matters.

The number of the forces in Ireland has annually varied of late years. On the 1ſt of March 1806, the regulars were ſtated to amount to 28,890. The militia being added thereto, the number of the whole was probably not leſs than 50,000. The proportion of cavalry in this army, the writer has not aſcertained. In the year ended in 1809, the cavalry amounted to 10,364, the waggon department employed 1773 horſes: theſe, together

* The number of barrels of porter brewed in London, in the year ended 5th July 1805, was 939,900, of which Meſſrs. Barclay, Meux, Trueman, and Whitbread brewed 519,200.

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with the horſes belonging to the light artillery, general officers, infantry officers, &c. fell probably but little ſhort of 13,000 in all. If it be true that this number has of late experienced a diminution of 2,000, there will ſtill be about 9,000 horſes, belonging to the army of Ireland, more than in 1785; the number then, in the cavalry regiments, being 1,956; and theſe being the only horſes belonging to the army, in that year, except ſuch as were kept by the general and infantry officers; the proportion whereof was ſmaller than at preſent. To ſupply with bread 40,000 additional ſoldiers, which, in round numbers, is the difference between the army in 1785 and 1806, would require at leaſt 20,000 quarters of wheat*, or the produce of 8,533 acres, to which may be added about 1,500 acres for potatoes: in all about 10,000 acres. To ſupply the uſual ration of oats, viz. 10lbs to each horſe per day, would require 144,000 barrels of oats a year; or the produce of 22,152 acres: beſides which they would require at 18lbs. each per day 26,100 tons of hay, or the produce of 13,050 acres of good meadow land.

Theſe different increaſed demands then, if a due allowance be made for the tillage requiſite to ſupport the additional horſes employed in huſbandry, would require about 200,000 more acres of tillage than the demands, from the ſame quarters, did about the year 1784. And that number of acres under barley, wheat and oats would produce about 1,200,000 average barrels; which being added to the ſurplus produce exported in the year ended 5th January 1808, after deducting for the quantity imported, viz. 875,096 barrels, will make a total of 2,075,090 barrels; which exceeds the annual average exceſs of exported, beyond imported corn, meal and flour, in the period ended in 1784, viz. 41,912 barrels, by 2,033,178 barrels, which, taking an average of the prices of the ſeveral ſorts of grain, and of the meal and flour, conſiderably below their actual prices, appears to be worth little ſhort of three millions ſterling. When the *whole* Houſe of Commons, therefore, on the 5th December 1783, complimented the preſent Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer for having introduced a meaſure (the corn bounty and regulation bill) which promiſed to be of *material* and

* The army in Ireland make much uſe of potatoes: the allowance, therefore, of wheat is far below the uſual allowance in other caſes. The ſeamen are allowed one pound of bread per man per day, which is nearly equivalent to a quarter of wheat per year. One pound and a half of bread was the daily ration of a ſoldier in France before the Revolution.

permanent

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permanent advantage to Ireland, that aſſembly paid a compliment which ſubſequent facts appear to have moſt amply juſtified.

But theſe increaſed demands of the diſtillers, the brewers, and the army were as nothing, in compariſon of thoſe which muſt have enſued from that great augmentation which the population of Ireland has experienced ſince the year 1784. Reſpecting theſe demands, however, no fully ſatisfactory computation can be made, until the extent of that augmentation ſhall be aſcertained; and of courſe no adequate idea can yet be given of the extenſion of tillage in Ireland ſince the era of the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn. Thus much we ſeem ſufficiently authoriſed to ſay, that with a home demand, one-fourth greater than in the period laſt mentioned, the ſurplus quantity of corn exported, after a deduction made for the corn imported, is actually upwards of 20 times greater than it then was: and that there are at preſent a much greater number of acres appropriated to cattle than there were. It may alſo be obſerved, that the average annual exceſs of exported, beyond imported corn, in the two laſt years, was upwards of 5 times greater than during any period throughout the laſt century, anterior to the bounties. And that, with a population probably exceeding 5 millions, Ireland exports 44 times more corn, almoſt twice as much beef, near 4 times more butter, 54 times more live cattle, and upwards of 11 times more pork, beſides a prodigiouſly augmented quantity of bacon, &c. than ſhe exported in the firſt period of the laſt century, when, if the computation of Captain South be admitted as near the truth, her population did not exceed one-fifth of its preſent amount.

France, with a ſoil whereof one fourth part, at leaſt, may vie, in fertility, with any other in Europe, exported, in 1784, various ſorts of proviſions to the amount of upwards of 400,000l. * But, in the ſame year, the value of the ſame articles, imported into that country, was upwards of 800,000l. In the year 1787, her exports of the ſame nature amounted to about 700,000: but her imports to near one million. The value of the ſurplus produce of land exported in a year, from Ireland, has frequently amounted to 4 millions; while the value of articles, for the ſuſtenance of man, imported in the ſame year, has fallen ſhort of 100,000l. Poland may export a greater quantity of grain than Ireland: but in the exportation of all ſorts of proviſions, the latter ſurpaſſes the former. If that part of the land of

* From Mr. Young's Tour in France.

Ireland

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Ireland which is actually employed in furniſhing the beef and butter annually exported, were employed in the production of grain; and if that which is under tillage were cultivated as it ought, Ireland, notwithſtanding the denſity of its population, would aſſuredly be competent to export an infinitely greater ſupply of grain to other countries than Poland ever ſent forth.

The vaſt actual or potential exportation of food from Ireland is not, however, to be aſcribed to the ſuperiour fertility of its ſoil: for though, in this reſpect, it unqueſtionably excels England; in reſpect of produce, it certainly does not. It is to be aſcribed partly to the nature of the food (potatoes) on which the inferiour orders chiefly ſubſiſt; and partly, but in a very great degree, to the general facility of exporting local redundancies of grain. Potatoes (the ordinary food of the agricultural labourers of Ireland) require a much leſs quantity of land for the production of a ſufficient ſupply for a given number of perſons than wheat, rye or maize: and ſo numerous are the ports of Ireland, ſo great its extent of ſea coaſt, in proportion to its area, ſo convenient its rivers, and ſo good in general its croſs roads, that in two-third parts of it, no farmer can be deterred from the purſuit of tillage by an inability to get rid of occaſional redundancies of grain at a ſaving price. And theſe circumſtances, if duly attended to, and made the moſt of, may render Ireland, under an improved mode of culture, the greateſt food-ſupplying country that ever exiſted.

This reaſonable, well deviſed and effectual act, the conſideration whereof has perhaps become irkſome to the reader, muſt not, however, be as yet diſmiſſed. Its various beneficial and important effects have not yet been fully exhibited; and without an exhibition of theſe, the condition of Ireland cannot be ſufficiently illuſtrated.

About 30 years ago, when Mr. Young travelled through Ireland, the average price of day labour was 6½d*. It now appears, by the ſtatiſtical ſurveys of 16 counties, by parochial returns from 3 others †, and by information from different parts of the reſt, to be 10½d. So that in 30 years it has riſen about two-thirds: which is infinitely more than it had riſen in any former period of equal extent; and a greater riſe than took place in England in the

* About 25 years ago labourers were known to work from before ſun-riſe till after ſun-ſet for 4d. in the county of Sligo, where the price of day labour is actually one ſhilling.

† See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

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ſame ſpace of time, ſince the middle of the 17th century. That this riſe, which has greatly improved the condition of the labourers, who form ſo vaſt a portion of the community, and thereby tended, in an eminent manner, to the increaſe of population, muſt be wholly aſcribed to the great extenſion of tillage, occaſioned by this act, is ſufficiently evident. The number of people engaged in the linen and cotton manufactures, the only extenſive ones which have as yet flouriſhed in Ireland, is inconſiderable in proportion to the number employed, either directly or indirectly, in agriculture *: and no increaſe of demand, that has ever yet happened, for the produce of the loom, could occaſion ſo great a riſe in the price of labour, throughout a country containing ſo large a population as Ireland. Three hundred thouſand weavers and ſpinners are as many as the linen manufacture can at preſent employ, if the whole of their time were devoted thereto; and probably little more than about 60,000 perſons are engaged in the cotton manufacture. But 360,000 people form ſo very ſmall a portion of the claſs of labourers, in Ireland, that although they earned twice, or even three times, as much as formerly, ſuch event could evidently have but little effect in raiſing the wages of the remainder. This act, therefore, may fairly be conſidered as the great primary cauſe of the unprecedented increaſe of wages which has taken place in Ireland ſince the year 1778.

To this act, we muſt alſo almoſt wholly aſcribe that great augmentation which the rental of Ireland has experienced within the laſt twenty-ſix years. From the ſtatiſtical ſurveys, no ſatisfactory information can be collected on this ſubject; but the information obtained from a variety of quarters, in addition to that which is to be found in the Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII., in the Appendix, enables the writer to ſtate, with confidence, that ſince the year 1782, the rent of land, which a ſhort time before that year had begun to fall, in many places, has been much more than doubled in all parts of Ireland, one with another, more than trebled in many; and that the greateſt riſe has been in thoſe counties where tillage has been moſt purſued.

If Mr. Young, who appears to have taken much pains to inform himſelf on the ſubject, was grounded in computing the rental of Ireland at 6 mil-

* The number of people employed in agriculture, in an extenſive country, has never been computed at leſs than one-fifth of the whole population, but generally more. See Smith's Wealth of Nations, v. ii. p. 198.

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lions in 1778, there can be no hesitation in stating it at upwards of 15 millions at present, exclusive of the ground rent of the houses in the different towns. In a former section *, it was computed, that there were 13,454,375 acres of fertile land in Ireland; and it was shewn that the waste land in general afforded sustenance to vast herds of cattle. That each acre of the former, one with another, or on an average, yields to the landlord at least one guinea; or, which is the same thing, would yield to him at least that sum in the event of being re-let, will doubtless be universally assented to by those who have inquired into the fact. Few acres of such land yield less than half a guinea, vast tracts of it yield two guineas, several yield from three to five, and some yield even eight and ten. At one guinea on an average each acre, the rental would be 15,304,351l., exclusive of the rent arising from the waste land, containing 4,800,000 acres, and from the ground on which the town houses are built.

In 1676, Sir W. Petty computed the rental of Ireland at 900,000l., excluding quit-rents, tithes, &c. In 1727, Mr. Brown computed it at 2,025,000l., with the same exclusion, and without such exclusion, at 2,824,870l. Mr. Young, as just noticed, computed it at 6 millions in 1778. In about fifty years therefore, from 1676, the rental of Ireland appears to have doubled. In the next 50 years, it appears to have also doubled. But in the last 30 years, it appears to have increased so as to double in about 19 years†. And to the extention of tillage consequent on

* Section 4th, part 1st.

† The following facts seems more worthy of notice than most others which have come within the writer's knowledge, as they demonstrate this increase of rent in places under very different circumstances. In a part of the county of Cork, where tillage has of late years been actively pursued, land let by the present Earl of Shannon's ancestor in the year 1738, for 72l., was lately re-let by that nobleman for 700l., to occupying tenants. His Lordship was offered more by the tenants, and also by their competitors; but complying, on that, as on other occasions, with the dictates of an excellent heart, a sound and reflecting mind, and superiour principles of disinterestedness, that amiable and exemplary nobleman did not hesitate to make a laudable sacrifice to the comforts of his tenantry. Other land, the property of Mr. Townsend, in the neighbourhood of Skibbereen, in the same county, rendered valuable by the extension of tillage alone, and let on a lease of 3 lives for 30l., has lately been re-let for 300l. Other land, in one of the more remote parts of Ireland, the neighbourhood of Bantry bay, belonging to Mr. Hedges, and which yielded, under a long lease, but 60l. a year, is confidently expected to yield no less than 2,200l. The rich pasture land of the Buttevant estate, in the northern part of the county of Cork, belonging to Mr. Anderson, and containing

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on the act under conſideration, this unprecedented increaſe is, almoſt excluſively, to be ultimately aſcribed.

But the landlords are not the only perſons who have been enriched by the extenſion of tillage which this act occaſioned. The revenues of the clergy alſo have neceſſarily been prodigiouſly augmented thereby. In fact, had it not been for this extenſion of tillage, the eſtabliſhed clergy of Ireland, who may now vie, in opulence, with thoſe of moſt other countries *, would, in conſequence of the unjuſt abolition of the tithe agiſtment, and the non-payment of ſmall tithes, in moſt places, have been among the pooreſt in Europe.

To this act likewiſe are the Roman Catholic clergy indebted, in a peculiar manner, for the increaſe of revenue which they have experienced. The farmers of their perſuaſion have been enriched thereby; the condition of the labourers of their perſuaſion has been improved; the number of both has been greatly augmented; and conſequently the revenues of the clergy, ariſing from the voluntary contributions of individuals, have been proportionately increaſed: a circumſtance which, with other conſiderations, begins to induce the more wealthy Roman Catholics to educate their children for the clerical profeſſion.

That the internal trade of Ireland has increaſed in proportion to the extenſion of tillage, is ſufficiently manifeſt; and muſt have been the caſe. Many branches of buſineſs are now purſued, ſome with vaſt, others with adequate profit, which, it is well known, were either not purſued, or yielded but little before this act began to operate.

The Table marked XII. in the Appendix, ſhews the great increaſe of the external commerce of Ireland ſince the year 1782. The imports have

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ing 2,700 acres, was let on a 99 years leaſe, in 1706, by one of the Earls of Barrymore, for 180l. a year, and will now produce upwards of 4,000 l. a year. Part of the eſtate of the writer's eſtimable friend, and affectionate kinſman, Colonel Hodder, in the county of Limerick, let on a one-and-thirty years leaſe, in 1771, is about to be re-let to the preſent tenants for four times the rent they now pay; and yet others have offered ſtill more.

* The writer has been favoured with an accurate return from the dioceſe of Cloyne; which ſtates the number of beneficed clergymen at 56, and their revenues at upwards of 40,000l. a year. He has been credibly informed that the living of Middleton, in that dioceſe, which now yields 2,500l. a year, yielded but 900l. a year about 23 years ago. In the little dioceſe of Roſs, which is chiefly under tillage, there are 8 livings worth a thouſand a year, and upwards.

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more than doubled; the exports alſo, if the real value be taken, have more than doubled; and the ſhipping of Britain employed in the trade of Ireland have been greatly augmented. The coal alone, purchaſed by the latter from the former, employs 250,346 tons of ſhipping more than 31 years ago; and the corn, ſent by the latter to the former, requires near 100,000; and might be increaſed in quantity, ſo as to require, at leaſt, 100,000 more.

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SECTION IV.

Effects of the Corn Bounties on the Roman Catholic Population.

BUT there is a ſingularly important and intereſting political light in which the extenſion of tillage, occaſioned by this pregnant act, deſerves to be attentively viewed. It has obviouſly and unqueſtionably tended, in a moſt eminent manner, to enrich and to augment the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And there can be little doubt that it will continue to do ſo, with unabated efficacy; and thus progreſſively increaſe the weight and influence of that population in the political ſcale of the empire.

Powerfully ſeconded by ſeveral contemporary acts of a patriotic nature, it has produced, and is actually producing a moſt momentous change in the circumſtances of Ireland, which no wiſe ſtateſman will overlook. The change which it has produced, and which it is annually perfectionating, with increaſed velocity, has already rendered unſuitable and dangerous all the meaſures of former times. It has already completely and finally precluded the poſſibility of recurring to them. It has ſuggeſted to wiſe men the expediency of others of an oppoſite nature. And without diſturbance it will naturally and inevitably inſure their adoption. To exclude, for inſtance, from the enjoyment of political equality, under a free conſtitution, like that of Britain, upwards of four millions of people, annually increaſing in wealth and number, and actually conſtituting three-fourths of the population of the empire, and four-fifths of that of the valuable and unvanquiſhable country in which they live, may be, in the opinion of ſome, a very laudable and a very ſpirited undertaking; but there are not wanting others who find themſelves prepared to pronounce it as egregious a puerility as ever engaged the uninformed mind of a ſchool-boy.

The ingenuity and addreſs of party-leaders, aided by the declamations and arguments of ephemeral writers, may effect the alternate adoption and rejection of ſpecific meaſures. But the circumſtances of a people, or thoſe of a vaſt portion of a people, will ſpeedily render abortive all meaſures incompa-

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tible with theſe circumſtances; and ſlowly and imperceptibly, but ſurely introduce and eſtabliſh that ſyſtem of policy, whatever it may be, which is beſt calculated to afford the greateſt degree of general ſatisfaction. If the admiſſion of Iriſh Roman Catholics into the imperial legiſlature were manifeſtly and unequivocally repugnant to the welfare of England, their excluſion would ſtand juſtified upon the beſt principles of government. But if it be demonſtrably conducive to the welfare of the empire, and inconſiſtent only with the ſenſeleſs and artificial prejudices of the doltiſh part of the Engliſh commmunity, it ſeems juſtifiable upon no principle that ſhould govern the conduct of a ſtateſman. If the circumſtances of the Iriſh Roman Catholics be not ſuch as entitle them to claim the ſurrender of a partial privilege, if they be not ſuch as entitle them to equal deference, on the part of government, then let that privilege be pertinaciouſly maintained, in compliance with the prejudices of Engliſhmen, let that deference be ſhewn to Proteſtants alone. But whoever will take the trouble to view their circumſtances, in a minute diſpaſſionate and ſtateſman-like manner, will aſſuredly find ſufficient reaſon for thinking that acquieſcence and reſpect are much more politic than inflexibility and contempt.

To ſuit the meaſures of government and mode of governing to the circumſtances of a nation is true political prudence; and never fails to produce the happieſt effects. On the contrary, to perſiſt in meaſures inapplicable to the circumſtances of a nation, and to govern in a manner inconſiſtent with the prevailing intereſts and opinions, betrays a high degree of political fatuity; and, in moſt caſes, is followed by the ruin of the ſtate. The Commons of England, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, were deſtitute of weight; but the ſlow and unobſerved progreſs and effects of commerce raiſed them in the reigns which ſucceeded; until, in that of Charles the Firſt, they acquired a real preponderating influence which that unfortunate monarch did not ſufficiently perceive; and to which therefore he did not ſeaſonably ſuit his meaſures. The Roman Catholics of Ireland have riſen, and are riſing like the Commons of England, but with much greater rapidity; and every loyal, unprejudiced and reflecting man probably feels a ſtrong wiſh already that the meaſures of government, with regard to them, may ſpeedily aſſume a much more conciliatory aſpect and be much more ſatisfactory than heretofore.

But this act not only allured the Roman Catholics into a ſingularly advantageous purſuit, it has likewiſe enſured to them the moſt powerful

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protection while engaged therein. It has given them protectors whose sentiments may be hostile to their elevation; but whose interest will inevitably compel them to continue their protection, until the infant Hercules shall have acquired sufficient strength. The Presbyterian weaver of the north will readily make common cause with the Roman Catholic farmer of the south, who contributes to find him. The Protestant landlord will always be the vigilant protector of his Roman Catholic tenant's source of wealth. He will draw his sword in its defence as promptly as he would in that of his own purse, which must from thence be filled.

Even the Protestant clergy, who may hastily and vulgarly be considered as the professional adversaries of the Roman Catholics, but among whom, in truth, religious enmity is rarely discernible, would be disposed to raise as violent an outcry if the tillage of Ireland were obstructed or depressed, as ever their brethren in England raised against popery. The tithe agistment which had been only forbidden to be demanded by a precipitate resolution of the House of Commons, in the year 1735, is now finally abolished, by the 40 G. III. c. 23.; so that the Protestant clergy are actually dependant, for their revenues, chiefly on tillage, with which these revenues must necessarily be commensurate.

The people of England too, of whose shipping upwards of 600,000 tons are actually employed in the export trade of Ireland; who carry on about three-fourths of its commercial business *; whose manufactures are encouraged by a vast annual influx of money, from Ireland, and who require a perpetual supply of corn from other countries, will not, it is natural to presume, be so far blinded by their long dormant, lately revived, absurd and impolitic enmity of popery, as to sanction, after reflection, any measure which may be discovered to have a tendency to discourage the agriculture of Ireland; and thereby diminish their gains, curtail their supply of food, and render their Irish debtors unable to answer their demands. No; it might rather be presumed that they would consult their interest better; and with that in view, hold forth every possible encouragement to the cultivators of

* The real value of the goods exported from, and imported into Ireland, one year with another, is near 20 millions sterling. The British merchants who carry on three-fourths of this trade, must consequently gain, at 8 per cent. profit, 1,600,000l. annually, exclusive of the profits of freight.

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Ireland; and by doing ſo, effectually promote that cauſe which they have been weakly and wickedly taught to decry. And with them every Iriſh Proteſtant, in every branch of public buſineſs, muſt co-operate.

The act in queſtion has, moreover, had the effect of creating a powerful though latent principle of union among Iriſhmen, which, in the unlikely event of a recurrence to meaſures calculated to diminiſh the profits of tillage in Ireland, would aſſuredly manifeſt itſelf with formidable and reſiſtleſs energy. The manufactures of Birmingham, of Paiſley, of Mancheſter or of Wakefield, may experience an interval of depreſſion, and thoſe who are ſubſiſted by them, be, in conſequence, turned adrift to inliſt in the army, or with difficulty reſtrained from outrages by a military force. But let the tillage of Ireland, that great and principal ſource of its preſent and future proſperity and ſtrength; that mine which annually increaſes the riches both of the Proteſtant and Roman Catholic laity and clergy; let that be obſtructed, or rendered leſs profitable, for any length of time, and it is not a wretched mob of ſickly manufacturers that will be raiſed; but the whole population of a country, crowded with warlike inhabitants, and abounding in enterpriſing and intelligent men.

From the Roman Catholics, then, as well as from the Proteſtant landlords and clergy of Ireland, the preſent Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer ſeems entitled to an ample tribute of gratitude; notwithſtanding his vigilant, invariable and indefatigable oppoſition to the well warranted claims and juſt expectations of the former: an oppoſition, however, which the Roman Catholics muſt admit, has ever been free from that petulance, acerbity and malice which have characteriſed the oppoſition of others.

No ſeries of energetic declamations, on the part of the Roman Catholics no ſeries of ſatisfactory and conciliatory profeſſions; no ſeries of irrefutable arguments, grounded on principles of religion, could have ſo effectually ſerved their cauſe, in the end, as the act under conſideration. It has allured them into a purſuit, confeſſedly calculated, in a peculiar manner, to increaſe their wealth and numeral force; and conſequently, to ſupply them, in an augmenting ratio, with the true requiſites for rendering their voice efficaciouſly audible, without the neceſſity of having recourſe to thoſe paralyſing and hazardous expedients, which individuals, with more ambi-

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ambition and avarice than prudence and patriotiſm, might be diſpoſed to urge.

Whether the Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer foreſaw all the diſtant, but inevitable effects of his ſeaſonable and patriotic meaſure, and the combination or involution of heterogeneous intereſts which it was likely to occaſion, the writer has never yet had an opportunity of learning. To preſume that he did not, would be to detract from his reputed political ſagacity. There ſeems no fit ground for believing that the Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer did not know, when framing the act in queſtion, that a very great majority of the Iriſh people profeſſed the Roman Catholic religion; that the proportion of Roman Catholics to Proteſtants was much greater in the country than in the towns; and that it was infinitely more ſo in almoſt all thoſe counties where tillage was moſt likely to be purſued, than in thoſe wherein the linen manufacture gave employment to the induſtrious. It cannot eaſily be believed, that he was incapable of perceiving the truth of this opinion, which muſt have preſented itſelf to the mind of every man of reflection, acquainted with human nature, that a propenſity to employ their capitals on land would be great, among the Roman Catholics, in proportion to the reſtraints which they formerly laboured under in that reſpect, and which had but juſt been removed; eſpecially as ſmall capitals could no otherwiſe be employed with ſo great effect. It cannot eaſily be believed, that he did not foreſee that a ſedulous purſuit of tillage, encouraged by the bounties of his act, would ſpeedily enrich thoſe who purſued it; and eminently conduce to the augmentation of their number. It cannot eaſily be believed, that he was not aware of this indiſputable truth, that in proportion as the wealth and number of any deſcription of people in a community increaſe, an oppoſition to their juſt claims muſt decline and grow feeble. It cannot eaſily be believed, that he overlooked this truth alſo, that as all deſcriptions and claſſes of the Iriſh people were likely to derive, in ſome way or other, important benefits from an active and ſucceſsful purſuit of tillage, every attempt to reſume or defeat the meaſures to which ſuch purſuit was attributable, would be ſtrenuouſly, perhaps violently, certainly effectually reſiſted, not merely by the Roman Catholics, whoſe wealth and number muſt of neceſſity be annually augmented under the operation of theſe meaſures, but by the whole of the Iriſh community. All this ſeems difficult to believe, the writer therefore cannot

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cannot heſitate to pronounce Mr. Foſter as great a benefactor to the Roman Catholics, as he has unqueſtionably proved himſelf to be to the Iriſh nation at large.

The change, in the condition of the Roman Catholics, which the extenſion of tillage, in Ireland, and the increaſing profit accruing from that purſuit, have occaſioned, and will complete, is one of thoſe great national circumſtances which ordinary baffle the counteracting ingenuity and force of man; and produce their natural effects in due ſeaſon.

Had the Roman Catholics been the only claſs of people benefited thereby, the means of their advancement might, but not without very conſiderable danger and difficulty, be reduced within their former compaſs. But almoſt every deſcription of perſons, in the United Kingdom, will be found to derive, in ſome way or other, a greater or leſs benefit from a ſucceſsful purſuit of tillage in Ireland. So that it is impoſſible to obſtruct the advancement of the Roman Catholics, without, at the ſame time, injuring many who may deprecate their elevation. And it cannot be ſuppoſed that any adminiſtration, it matters not on what principles it may be formed, will exhibit ſuch an evidence of political imprudence as to do ſo.

Here one cannot help turning aſide, for a moment, to contemplate the blindneſs of man, and the paramount agency of God. The endeavours which were uſed, in former times, to baniſh the Roman Catholics from the towns, had the effect of rendering the rural population chiefly Roman Catholic. In very many pariſhes, in the greateſt tillage counties in Ireland, there is ſcarcely a Proteſtant to be found: in ſeveral not a ſingle one *. The labour of that population has become the principle cauſe of augmenting the wealth of the nation; and operating thus, under the intereſted protection of all deſcriptions of people, muſt ultimately furniſh the deſcendants of the baniſhed with the only ſure means of obtaining a participation of every political benefit with the deſcendants of thoſe who deprived them of all. The Proteſtant clergy, naturally purſuing their own worldly intereſts, muſt find themſelves urged to diſcountenance and exclaim againſt every meaſure likely to impede the tillage of Ireland, or, in other words, likely to obſtruct the future advancement of the Roman Catholics. The

* See Table marked XXVIII. in the Appendix.

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Proteſtant landlords of Ireland may, either in their own country, or in that which they have ſhamefully and inconſiderately preferred before their own, unite in reſiſtance to the Roman Catholic claims: but they are evidently placed, by the operation of ſelf-intereſt, under a neceſſity of forwarding the cauſe of their Roman Catholic countrymen as effectually, though in a tardy or circuitous manner, as if they were publicly to unite, as they ought to do, in ſupporting it. Under the ſame neceſſity, the ſeveral deſcriptions of people in England, who derive benefit from the commerce and wealth of Ireland, ſeem alſo to be placed; as are evidently the Proteſtant traders of Ireland. And thus it is that the ſelf-intereſt of ſubordinate agents is made to work in behalf of the welfare of thoſe whoſe welfare they have leaſt in view.

The great extenſion of the linen manufacture, which happened after the year 1782, was, no doubt, greatly conducive to the augmentation of the wealth and ſtrength of Ireland. But although the value of the exported produce of the Iriſh loom has always exceeded that of Iriſh tillage, the encouragement given to the latter has proved, and may prove of infinitely greater benefit to Ireland, and it might be ſaid to the Empire at large, than the utmoſt extenſion of which the linen or any other manufacture is ſuſceptible. Over every manufacture, the extenſion of tillage has this important advantage, that it induces the greateſt increaſe of people, and, at the ſame time, an increaſe of the means of ſupporting them, and alſo an increaſe of the means of purchaſing from manufacturers, of all deſcriptions, the varied produce of their labour. With the aid, almoſt ſolely, of the plough, the paſture and the linen-loom (for Iriſh induſtry can ſcarcely be ſaid to have been directed to any other expedients,) Ireland ſoon roſe, under ſeveral diſadvantages, to a very high place among the nations of Europe. And there can be no doubt that, chiefly by the aid of the firſt, if it experience that foſtering care which the laſt, its inferiour, has uniformly experienced, Ireland will ſpeedily make, as Sir William Temple ſaid ſhe was qualified to make, "a mighty acceſſion of wealth and ſtrength to the crown of England."

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SECTION V.

National Diſtinction ultimately attained by Ireland.

THE progreſs of Ireland towards that diſtinguiſhed place, among European nations, which nature has qualified her to hold, became extremely rapid, ſoon after her independence was eſtabliſhed, and her agriculture encouraged; much more ſo than that of any other country; as was truly affirmed, on the eve of the union, by the author of the meaſure juſt diſmiſſed, and to which that accelerated progreſs was chiefly owing. And there cannot be a doubt, that, notwithſtanding the recurrence of war, that progreſs would have been much more rapid, had ſhe not ſtill continued to labour under a ſort of commercial impotency; and had it not been for a ſeries of unpropitious events, occaſioned by the weakneſs of ſome, and the wickedneſs of others. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances and events, however, Ireland has already attained a place in the ſecond claſs of European nations; and has riſen to a ſtate which may, upon the whole, be conſidered as at leaſt equal to that of Britain, about the acceſſion of George II.

There appeared ſufficient ground for computing the population of Ireland, in 1804, at 5,395,436 ſouls; and the average annual increaſe at 91,448 *. If ſuch were really the fact, and ſubſequent reſearches have ſtrongly conduced to ſubſtantiate the computation, it muſt, in 1808, be upwards of 5,500,000; and conſequently on a par with the population of England, about the time of the revolution, according to the computation of Gregory King; but according to the computations of others, who, it is believed, arrived much nearer to the truth, within about one million and a half of its then amount.

The value of the goods exported from Ireland, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 10,260,755l.†; that of the goods exported from England, on an average of three years, ended in 1728, or about the acceſſion of

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* Inquiry into the Population of Ireland.

† On an average of 4 years, ended in 1788 the value

	Livres.	£.
of the exports of France was - - -	354,423,000	or 14,767,625
that of the imports - - - -	301,727,000	or 12,571,959

George

George the Second, was, according to Mr. Chalmers, 7,918,406l.*; conſequently, allowing, on one hand, for the depreciation of money, and on the other, for the omiſſion of ſeveral articles exported from Ireland, and noticed by Mr. Marſhall, in his evidence before the Exchange committee in 1804; Ireland may, in this reſpect, be conſidered as equal to England then. But the export trade of the former was, in one point, more beneficial to the country than that of the latter; as it conſiſted almoſt wholly in native products; the foreign goods exported amounting to no more than 150,370l., which was by no means the caſe with the trade of England. The number of tons of ſhipping, employed in the export trade of Ireland, in the year ending the 5th January 1808, was 786,220; the number employed in that of England, in the year 1770, only 38 years ago, was, according to Mr. Chalmers's chronological table of commerce, 760,971; conſequently, in this reſpect, Ireland, in the year ended in 1808, nearly equalled England, ſhortly before the commencement of the American war, and its concomitant French, Spaniſh, and Dutch wars. The value of the cargoes, then exported from England, was 14,266,654, or according to the prices current, about 17 millions; or 7 millions more than the value of the cargoes exported from Ireland in the year adduced†. The groſs receipt of the ordinary revenue of Ireland was, in the year ended in 5th January 1808, 5,551,669l. The nett income of England, ariſing from cuſtoms, exciſe, land, and polls, amounted, in the year 1691, when ſhe was deeply engaged in war, to 4,249,757l.‡ So that taking to account the extraordinary reſources of Ireland, and allowing for the difference between the groſs and nett receipts, and for the depreciation of money, the ſuperiority of England, with reſpect to revenue, in the time of King William's wars, over Ireland, as at preſent, will not be found ſuch as to render the compariſon unſuitable to the drift of theſe pages. The revenue of the Engliſh crown, in the reign of King James the Second, when it was higher than at any former period, ſcarcely exceeded two millions. The groſs income of the Poſt-office of Ireland, amounted in the year ended 5th January 1808, to 158,749l., that of the Poſt-office of England, foreign and domeſtic, in 1764, to 281,535l.§ The average annual quantity of

* Chalmers' Eſtimate, p. 112. † 40l. per cent. is at preſent conſidered as the difference between the real and official value of Britiſh merchandize.

‡ Aſtle's Tranſcript. Chalmers, p 64. § Chalmers' Eſtimate, p. 132.

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corn of all ſorts exported from Ireland laſt year, was 875,096 barrels beyond the quantity imported; the greateſt average exceſs *ever* exported from England was 1,080,077 qrs., which was not more than about twice the quantity from the former; or if the reſpective areas of the two countries be conſidered, nearly the ſame proportion of redundant corn. The rental of England, about the time of the revolution, was eſtimated by Gregory King at 10 millions ſterling, and by Sir William Petty at 8 millions. The rental of Ireland cannot be at preſent eſtimated at leſs than 15 millions.

Of twenty-five European ſtates, whereof M. Boetticher of Konigſberg has given ſtatiſtical tables, Ireland is, in point of population, ſurpaſſed by eight only, viz. England, France, Ruſſia, Turkey, the Auſtrian dominions, Poland before its partition, Spain, and the two Sicilies; in point of revenue by ſix, namely, the foregoing ones, except Poland, and the two Sicilies; in point of magnitude of capital city, by ſix, viz. England, France, Ruſſia, Turkey, the United Provinces, and the Auſtrian dominions †; and in point of denſity of population, by the United Pro-

† Compariſon, in number of houſes, between the principal cities and towns of Ireland, and others of note on the continent, as the latter are exhibited in the ſtatiſtical tables of J. G. Boetticher of Konigſberg.

	Houſes.	Inhabitants.		Houſes.	Inhabitants.
Dublin	16,023	172,091	Madrid	13,000	140,000
Cork	*7,000	61,250	Rotterdam	6,620	48,000
Waterford	3,107		Altona	3,150	
Drogheda	3,087		Breſlaw	3,050	
Belfaſt	3,053		Warſaw	3,018	
Limerick	2,979		Frankfort on Main	3,000	
Kilkenny	1,548		Munich	1,700	
Newry	1,503		Manheim	1,548	
Dungarvon	1,377		Leipſic	1,400	
Clonmel	1,349		Frankfort on Oder	1,320	
Wexford	1,340		Drontheim	1,308	
Yonghal	1,223		Lauſanne	1,300	
Galway	1,212		Gotha	1,254	
Bandon	1,196		Oſnaburg	1,250	
Sligo	1,172		Stralſund	1,200	
Londonderry	1,154		Zurich	1,200	
Dundalk	1,083		Berne	1,093	
Kinſale	1,036		Gottingen	1,000	

* The writer has been furniſhed with a return ſaid to be taken from the books of the collectors of the hearth-money and window tax, by which there appear to be 27,267 ſouls in that part of Cork which lies north of the river Lee. This number at 8¼ to a houſe gives 3,115 houſes, which with thoſe in that part of the city which was accurately ſurveyed, make 5,909, leaving only 1,091 for the central part, of which no ſurvey has been lately made

vinces.

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vinces, and the two Sicilies only. In reſpect of population and revenue, taken together, Ireland may be conſidered as on a par with the late dominions of the King of Pruſſia: the population of the latter but very little exceeding that of the former; and its revenue falling ſhort of the ordinary revenue of Ireland, by near two millions. In all reſpects, except denſity of population, in the inſtance of the United Provinces, and the two Sicilies, Ireland ranks, in the ſcale of European nations, above the United Provinces, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Bavaria, Switzerland, Saxony, the State of the Church, Sardinia, Tuſcany, Genoa, and the Electorates of Cologne, Mentz, Brunſwick, and Triers taken together.

So that in all reſpects, collectively conſidered, ſhe may fairly be reckoned as actually belonging to, at leaſt, the ſecond claſs of European nations: in population, revenue, and wealth, taken together, as equal to England in the early part of the laſt century, when the latter was dreaded and courted by her neighbouring nations: and in point of thoſe natural advantages which favour the increaſe of wealth and people, as ſuperiour, upon the whole, to almoſt any other country in the world.

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PART IV.

OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE TENDED TO PREVENT A COMPLETE FRUITION OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND, SINCE THE REMOVAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES WHICH OPERATED IN RENDERING THEM COMPARATIVELY ABORTIVE; AND OF THE EFFECTS RESULTING FROM THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

SECTION I.

Endeavours of the Iriſh People, to improve their Commercial and Political Conditions.

THE progreſs of Ireland, towards national opulence and conſpicuity, ſubſequently to the liberation of her trade, and the eſtabliſhment of her legiſlative independence, was, it muſt be owned, extraordinarily rapid. It certainly, however, would have been both more rapid and more permanent, had her legiſlature acted in conformity with principles of national independence; and evinced a becoming ſolicitude for her proſperity, by the adoption of thoſe meaſures which were, confeſſedly, wanting to place her, in point of commercial protection, on a level with other independent nations; and eſpecially, had that religious harmony, which enabled the people of Ireland to aſſert their rights, and which was ſo favourable to the purſuits of the induſtrious, been ſuffered to prevail, until the ſtrong and inveterate ſuſpicions, biaſes, and prejudices of individuals, which were daily declining, had grown feeble and inoperative. But ſo eaſily were the majority of the Iriſh legiſlature ſwayed to ſupport the meaſures of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, uniformly more intereſted in behalf of Britain than of Ireland, that it was in vain to expect the former, without ſome reformation in the Lower Houſe of Parliament: and as for the latter, it ſeems to have been unfortunately as incompatible with the projects of ſtateſmen, as it was with the views of factionaries.

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That requiſite protection of the infant manufactures of Ireland, which the Iriſh people had ſo importunately ſolicited, and warrantably demanded, was pertinaciouſly withheld by their mercenary Parliament. The produce of Britiſh induſtry was ſtill ſuffered to enter the Iriſh market without obſtruction; while that of Iriſh induſtry was excluded from the market of Britain, by duties amounting to prohibitions *.

A noble Lord, of conſiderable talents, and much commercial reſearch, took occaſion to animadvert on the ſuppoſed preſumption and folly of his countrymen, the Iriſh, in aiming at the impoſition of ſuch duties on the importation of Britiſh manufactures, as were neceſſary to afford due protection to their own †. His Lordſhip exhorted the people of Ireland to confine their induſtry prudently to one or two branches of trade; affirming that if they engaged in many, they would ſucceed in none. But his lordſhip either wilfully, or intentionally overlooked the limited inutility of a free trade to all the different markets of the world, unleſs the people who poſſeſſed a power of engaging in ſuch trade were competent to ſupply the commodities therein reſpectively in demand. His Lordſhip likewiſe overlooked the ſteps which Britain had ſucceſsfully taken in behalf of her own manufactures; and which neceſſarily became a guiding example, of no ſmall influence, with the people of Ireland. His Lordſhip, moreover, was either not aware of, or not ſufficiently impreſſed with the truth of Adam Smith's remark, "that to prohibit a great nation from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind ‡."

The people of Ireland, having eſtabliſhed the independence of their country, felt themſelves in poſſeſſion of an indiſputable right to encourage national induſtry, in whatever ſhape, or whatever manner they might occaſionally think fit. And they juſtly conſidered the habitual oppoſition of their government, to meaſures correſpondent with the exerciſe of this right, as an evidence of a want of due patriotiſm; and a practical proof of a recurrence to that ſubſerviency to the views of the Britiſh government, which had ſo long, and in ſo great a degree, proved injurious

* See Schedule of Duties, part 2d. Section 2.

† Obſervations on the trade and manufactures of Ireland by Lord Sheffield.

‡ Wealth of Nations. v. ii. p. 86.

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rious to Ireland; and which, with the happieſt effects, had been reſtrained, for a ſeaſon, by the loud remonſtrances of a united people.

A view of the probable miſchievous effects of this ſubſerviency, a perſuaſion of the neceſſity of protecting duties, in order to render the free trade available, deſpair of obtaining ſuch duties, or indeed any other requiſite commercial advantage, inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſed intereſt of Britain, from the Parliament conſtituted as it was; together with other motives equally cogent and juſt, inclined many loyal and moderate men, who deprecated parliamentary reform on the broad and pernicious principles which were then popular, to ſuch a qualified and limited reform, as might give the conſtituent body more influence than it had enjoyed over the deciſions of the Legiſlature.

This momentous queſtion was firſt introduced into the Houſe of Commons, towards the cloſe of the year 1783, by the celebrated orator Mr. Flood. But its obvious incompatibility with the views of the venal and avaricious, prepared for it a moſt determined oppoſition from a vaſt majority of that aſſembly, on that, and all ſubſequent occaſions. The circumſtance indeed of its having been obtruded, on the legitimate repreſentatives of the nation, by a deliberative body of armed delegates, ſitting in the Metropolis, and, as it were, bearding the Legiſlature, and the plan which accompanied it tending rather to the ruin, than to the renovation of the conſtitution *, amply juſtified its rejection in 1783. The ardour of its advocates was, however, far from being damped by diſcomfiture. Mr.

* The plan of parliamentary reform, propoſed by Mr. Flood, at the inſtance of the convention of delegates, extended the right of ſuffrage, in cities and boroughs, to all Proteſtants poſſeſſed of leaſehold property, for 31 years, of the annual value of 40 ſhillings; and augmented the number of freeholders, in all decayed boroughs, to 70, in the province of Leinſter, 100 in thoſe of Munſter and Connaught, and 200 in that of Ulſter; ſuch numbers being made up, when neceſſary, from the neighbouring pariſhes. This was equivalent to a total abolition of the decayed or cloſe boroughs: an abolition which, however it might bring the ſyſtem of civil polity nearer to theoretical perfection, would very probably have been ultimately productive of much greater miſchief than it was expected to remove. To diminiſh the influence of the executive power, in the lower Houſe of Parliament, was certainly adviſeable; but this plan would evidently have confined it within a much narrower ſphere than was requiſite to the full enjoyment of the benefits of the conſtitution, or than perhaps was conſiſtent with its preſervation. The queſtion of parliamentary reform having, however, fallen into very general diſrepute of late, it ſeems unſeaſonable to diſcuſs it here.

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Flood accordingly introduced it, a ſecond time, early in the following year; but it again experienced a moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition.

On the 7th of June, in that year, a meeting was held of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin, for the purpoſe of conſidering what reſolutions were moſt proper to be adopted in the then exiſting circumſtances of the country. At this meeting, the ſucceſſive meaſures of government were loudly reprobated, and the neceſſity of a reformation of Parliament ſtrongly urged.

The meaſures and practices to which the people of Ireland have been accuſtomed, during the laſt thirteen or fourteen years, and in which they appear to acquieſce with diminiſhed reluctance, are extremely unfavourable to a clear perception of the propriety of the epithets which were uſed to deſignate the conduct of the Iriſh government, during the three or four years which immediately ſucceeded the American war. The ſucceſſive events and circumſtances of Ireland, and indeed thoſe of Britain and of Europe, have operated, ſince the French revolution, ſo great a change in the public mind, that few can be actually brought to conſider the meaſures of the Iriſh government, at that period, as unconſtitutional and violent; and the then expenditure of public money as prodigal. In ſuch light, however, theſe meaſures and that expenditure were then almoſt univerſally viewed.

The expedient for reſtraining the liberty of the preſs; the infringement of the trial by jury; the rejection of reſolutions calculated to inſure the practice of economy, though the neceſſity of economy was freely admitted by the ſervants of the crown; the effectual reſiſtance given to reſolutions aiming at the impoſition of protecting duties, though the expediency of ſuch duties ſtood manifeſt, and could not, on any ſtrong ground, be controverted; and the warrantable apprehenſion, ariſing from theſe ſeveral ſources, of a ſpeedy relapſe into the miſgovernment, and conſequent miſery of former times, had naturally the effect of rendering the Iriſh people extremely ardent in purſuit of a reformation of Parliament. They poſſeſſed a conſtitution theoretically the ſame as that of Britain; but they found themſelves governed inconſiſtently with the ſpirit of that conſtitution; they juſtly apprehended meaſures ſtill more inconſiſtent therewith; and they looked to the expedient in queſtion, as the only effectual one, whereby they could hope to preclude theſe meaſures; and

and to ſecure, in their fulleſt extent, a permanent enjoyment of the political advantages of Britons.

Had the conſtituent body of the Iriſh nation been able to exerciſe as great influence over the deciſions of the Legiſlature, as was the caſe in England, every diſintereſted and reflecting man would probably have deprecated a reformation of Parliament; even Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, who afterwards became a principal agent among the rebels, admitted, in one of his publications, that that reformation which the Iriſh ſought for was far from being indiſpenſably requiſite to the welfare of England. But the influence of the conſtituent body in Ireland was extremely circumſcribed. One third of the Houſe of Commons was returned by the mandates of about thirty peers; and another by thoſe of wealthy commoners, who had ſufficient pretenſions to aim at ſeats in the Upper Houſe; and through the hands of theſe proprietors of boroughs, every thing flowed which government had to beſtow.

But in order to prepare the way for introducing this important meaſure, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure for it the ſtrong ſupport of a united people; and with that view, to conciliate, confide in, and admit within the pale of the conſtitution, the then inefficient Roman Catholics. To leave ſo large a portion of the people in a ſtate of neutrality and indifference, would have been equally inconſiſtent with political prudence, and incompatible with thoſe principles by which the patriots of Ireland profeſſed to be governed, and by which, no doubt, many were.

Under this perſuaſion, a reſolution was unanimouſly paſſed, at the aggregate meeting, declarative of the expediency of extending the benefits of the conſtitution to the Roman Catholics; their emancipation from the reſtraints under which they laboured being deemed not only equitable, but eſſentially conducive to the general union and proſperity *.

* The two laſt reſolutions ran thus: "that an equal participation of all the rights of a man, and a citizen, was proper henceforth to engage all the members of the ſtate to co-operate efficaciouſly for the greateſt general good. Finally, that it would be of the happieſt conſequence to the proſperity of the ſtate, and the maintenance of civil liberty, to extend to their brethren, the Roman Catholics, the right of ſuffrage, as fully as was compatible with the maintenance of the proteſtant government."

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Henceforward Roman Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform became blended together: and, in the end, owing to an unfortunate vitiation of principle among thoſe who ſupported theſe meaſures, were conſidered, and not unjuſtly, as the watch words of rebellion.

The very favourable and conciliatory ſentiments towards the Roman Catholics, which were expreſſed at this meeting, and on various other occaſions, both before and after; the conduct, correſpondent therewith, which was almoſt univerſally obſerved by the Proteſtant body; the example of liberality which was ſet by the volunteers of Belfaſt, who went in a body to the Roman Catholic chapel, in that town, to hear a ſermon preached for the purpoſe of collecting money for the embelliſhment of the chapel; the example of confidence ſet by the volunteers of Granard, who paid ſerjeants for inſtructing, in military exerciſes, their Roman Catholic neighbours; and a thouſand other inſtances, in all parts of Ireland, of conciliation, liberality, amity and confidence, on the part of the Proteſtants, towards the Roman Catholics, and which were multiplied in proportion, as the ſeaſon for exertion ſeemed to approach, had the neceſſary effects of creating the utmoſt harmony between them, and uniting them cloſely together: and the further effect, conſequent on theſe, of exciting no ſmall degree of apprehenſion among thoſe whoſe meaſures required a diſunion of the Iriſh people.

The aſpect of the political condition of Ireland gradually underwent a moſt deſirable change. Cordiality between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics was now at its height. The partiality and inſolence of the ſubordinate agents of the executive government, which the Roman Catholics had frequently reaſon to complain of, was every where induſtriouſly diſcountenanced and reſtrained. The laws became reſpected by all alike. The Roman Catholics, to whom they had long proved a ſource of terror, rather than relief, flew to them for protection, equally with the Proteſtants; and, on various occaſions, evinced the utmoſt alacrity in carrying them into effect. The Roman Catholic clergy, treated with liberality, kindneſs, attention and reſpect, began to aſſiſt at thoſe meetings, where their preſence was becoming. Iriſh gentlemen, of the Roman Catholic religion, who had ſerved in the armies of foreign princes, or reſided, without occupation, abroad, now returned to their native country; and by the politeneſs of their manners, liberality of their ſentiments, and reſpectability of their

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their characters, attracted, in an eminent manner, the eſteem of their Proteſtant aſſociates. Every thing tending to revive the recollection of former animoſity was ſcrupulouſly avoided. The attractive and amiable qualities of the Iriſh character ſuffered obſcuration no longer. Ireland ſeemed to riſe from a long trance, to the enjoyment of the utmoſt internal peace and felicity. But, alas! the ſeaſon of tranquillity, union and ſtrength, was of ſhort duration.

The great and growing diſcontent of the Iriſh, on the ſubject of protecting duties, and their undiminiſhed ardour in purſuit of parliamentary reformation, at length induced the Britiſh miniſtry to prepare for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a commercial intercourſe, between the ſiſter kingdoms, as might prove equally ſatisfactory to both; and thus conduce to divert the people of Ireland from aiming at that ſpeculative meaſure, which, in the event of its accompliſhment, might have proved introductory to a ſimilar one in Britain; and which, moreover, might have ultimately operated in deſtroying the conſtitution and diſmembering the empire.

With the view of obtaining the requiſite information for the arrangement of a ſyſtem of this nature, the Lords of the Committee of the Britiſh Privy Council were directed to inveſtigate the trade between Britain and Ireland; and to endeavour to aſcertain how far the wiſhes of the mercantile body of the latter could be complied with, conſiſtently with the welfare of the former. And in juſtice to the Lords who compoſed that committee, it is befitting to obſerve, that the general tenour of the queſtions, put to the different manufacturers who were examined, ſeemed to evince, on the part of the examiners, juſt and liberal notions of trade, and the abſence of all unbecoming partiality to either kingdom.

With the information thus obtained, there was formed, for the conſideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, a ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe, conſiſting originally of ten propoſitions. This ſyſtem was, in the firſt inſtance, preſented in February 1785, to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons; where, no ſolid objection being urged againſt it, for, in truth, it was not liable to any ſuch, on the ground of reciprocity, it was aſſented to with ſtrong ſentiments of approbation and gratitude.

About three months after, Mr. Flood again brought forward the queſtion of reform, the zeal of the advocates whereof had already been conſiderably abated by the proſpect of a ſatisfactory commercial intercourſe between the two

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two kingdoms. It was oppoſed as before, though, on this occaſion, the plan was left as it ought to have been on former ones, entirely to the diſcretion of Parliament.

The commercial ſyſtem, on being tranſmitted back to England, with the ſanction of the Iriſh Parliament, underwent a long, minute, and, in ſome reſpects, captious examination in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons: and, at length, in conſequence of the perſeverance of oppoſition, and the accumulated remonſtrances of merchants and manufacturers, Mr. Pitt, its powerful defender, found himſelf under the neceſſity of conſenting to its being conſtituted of twenty propoſitions, differing eſſentially from the original ten; and containing wherewithal to irritate the Iriſh people, and tranſmute their recent ſatisfaction into the utmoſt diſcontent.

Accordingly, on being introduced, in its modified ſtate, into the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, it excited a high degree of diſapprobation and indignation; grounded, however, rather on a qualified reſumption of a power, on the part of Britain, to regulate the concerns of Ireland, than on any real, permanennt and extenſive commercial diſadvantage to the latter: as, indeed, was fully ſhewn by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Hutchinſon, in a letter to his mercantile conſtituents in Cork.

In order to preclude the poſſible miſchiefs which might reſult from the various emergencies incident to a commercial compact between two kingdoms, circumſtanced as Britain and Ireland, it ſeemed requiſite that a power, competent to make and enforce ſuch future arrangements as might be found neceſſary, ſhould reſide ſomewhere. In framing the firſt ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe, to which the Iriſh had cheerfully aſſented, this was wholly overlooked. The people of Ireland could not expect that ſuch a power ſhould be exerciſed by their Legiſlature. On the other hand, they had too recently experienced the bad effects of legiſlative ſubordination to admit of their acquieſcence in any ſort of controul on the part of the Legiſlature of Britain. To leave future neceſſary arrangements to the deciſion of the reſpective Legiſlatures of the two kingdoms, would have been to leave the ſyſtem incomplete, and to riſk its permanence; as their uniform concurrence in the expediency of all future meaſures, could, by no means, be expected. The repugnance, therefore, of the people of Ireland to the exerciſe of that power, on the part of the Britiſh Legiſlature, which the laſt ſyſtem involved, ſeemed to induce the neceſſity of either of

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of the following expedients: viz, the eſtabliſhment of a board, conſtituted of independent commiſſioners, equally and impartially drawn from both kingdoms; carefully removed from the influence of government; and armed with adequate diſcretionary power: or, a legiſlative union. Whether the former expedient was ever thought on, or found liable to inſuperable objections, it is quite unneceſſary to inquire. The latter was adopted: and there is ample reaſon to believe it was ſo, ſoon after the Iriſh Parliament had manifeſted its diſpleaſure at that ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe to which the Britiſh Parliament had acceded. Lord Sackville earneſtly recommended it, in the debate on the commercial propoſitions in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords. But to carry this concealed expedient into effect, was an atchievement which required much time; much addreſs; much vigilance, with regard to opportunities; much diſcernment, with regard to ſelection; much promptitude, and much energy, during the ſeaſon of action: for the Parliament of Ireland had become attached to its ariſtocracy; and the people of Ireland had been rendered enthuſiaſtic in behalf of national independence, and exemption from the paralyſing controul of Britain.—Indeed, as the writer well remembers, it was conſidered as almoſt amounting to treaſon againſt the nation, to utter a ſyllable in favour of a Union. The Parliament was ſtudious to preſerve independence, chiefly on account of its tendency to enhance the ſervices of individual members. The people were ſtudious to preſerve it, becauſe it afforded them a better proſpect of patriotic meaſures than they had before. But they were alſo anxious to reform the Parliament, in order to inſure the adoption of thoſe meaſures, which the private intereſts of a majority of the members induced them to oppoſe.

In the debate on that commercial ſyſtem which involved a partial ſurrender of Iriſh legiſlative independence, Mr. Grattan, whoſe obſervations ſeldom failed to make deep impreſſions as well on the repreſentative, as on the conſtituent part of the Iriſh community; and who generally experienced the moſt unbounded applauſe of his countrymen, maintained, "that Parliament was not omnipotent to accompliſh their own deſtruction, and propagate death to their ſucceſſors — that they, the limited truſtees of delegated powers, born for a particular purpoſe, confined to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationſhip to the people who ſent them to Parliament, could not break that relationſhip, counteract that purpoſe, or derogate from

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from thoſe privileges they lived but to preſerve — that they might put down the public cauſe for a ſeaſon; but another year would ſee old conſtitution advance the honours of his head; and the good conſtitution of parliament ſhaking off the priſon of the tomb to re-aſcend in all its pomp and pride and plenitude of power."

This ſpeech, like moſt of the ſpeeches of that celebrated orator and patriot, was too rapturouſly and too univerſally admired, without doors, and two generally ſo within, to leave room for expecting a ſpeedy accompliſhment of a legiſlative union, or of any other meaſure analogous thereto. Few could have then been ſo credulous, or ſo ſanguine as to believe in the poſſibility of a complete accompliſhment of the views of the miniſter, in the ſhort ſpace of fifteen years. In fact, had it not been for a prompt and dexterous improvement of ſucceſſive conjunctures, of a favourable nature, the Legiſlatures of Britain and Ireland would have been as diſtinct at this day, as they then were. Such alſo would have been the caſe, had the people of Ireland been aware of the project in contemplation; or conſtantly apprehenſive of its being adopted: for under that impreſſion, or that apprehenſion, deprecating an union as they did, even in a ſeaſon of perplexity and diſmay, they would have looked with ſuſpicion on every attempt to divide them; and induſtriouſly have extinguiſhed the cauſes of that national debility which facilitated the meaſure. But it was ſtudiouſly kept from their view. They perceived no ſymptom of its approach. And thoſe few who might have ſuſpected the miniſter of being impreſſed with its expediency, probably relied, for its preclusion, on that combination of public and private intereſts, which ſeemed likely to govern the conduct of Parliament on queſtions of a vital nature. The day of its accompliſhment, however, quickly approached.

That amity and union, among the Iriſh people of all religions, which had been daily acquiring additional ſtrength; which had begun to produce the happieſt effects in ſocial life; which was evidently requiſite to the welfare of Ireland *; which was ſo ſtrictly conſonant with the principles of Chriſtianity; and which, under a juſt impreſſion of the danger and abſurdity

* Extract from Lord Clare's ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, March 13th, 1793: "I lament, as much as any man, that religious bigotry, and religious diſtinctions, ſhould prevail among us. I very well know they have proved the ſource of bitter calamity to the people of Ireland, and muſt neceſſarily, ſo long as they exiſt, retard her progreſs as a nation."

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of its oppoſite, was ſo induſtriouſly provided for by the Americans, during the infancy of their riſing republic *; was gradually weakened by a ſucceſſion of ſiniſtrous events; and at length ſo generally deſtroyed, that the effectuation of the projected union became ſufficiently practicable.

* Extract from an act for eſtabliſhing religious freedom, paſſed in the Aſſembly of Virginia: —

"That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than our opinions in phyſic or geometry; that therefore the proſcribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of truſt and emolument, unleſs he poſſeſs or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriouſly of thoſe privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right."

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SECTION II.

Revival of religious Enmity.

THE volunteers of Ulſter, on occaſion of their being reviewed at Belfaſt, in July 1785, by the venerable earl of Charelmont, the commander in chief of the volunteer army, preſented his lordſhip with an addreſs, in which they manifeſted a ſtrong perſuaſion of the expediency of extending the right of ſuffrage to the Roman Catholics, in order to give the conſtituent body of Ireland that numeral importance which the welfare of the kingdom demonſtrably required. His lordſhip, under the impulſe of public, or it may be of private conſiderations, which it is unneceſſary to undertake to diſcover, evinced, in his anſwer, ſuch ſentiments as left no room to doubt of his being adverſe to the meaſure in queſtion.

This firſt opportunity to diſunite the Iriſh people was eagerly embraced by thoſe who deprecated the effects of national union. His Lordſhip's anſwer, utterly irreconcileable with his apparent devotion to the Roman Catholic cauſe at a ſubſequent period, was induſtriouſly publiſhed in every part of the country. And ſo great was the influence which that noble Lord had acquired over the volunteer army, by his patriotiſm, his wiſdom, and his moral worth; that his ſentiments, on the ſubject of Catholic-emancipation, thus prematurely and accidentally announced, were readily and, for the moſt part, even without examination, adopted by a vaſt majority of thoſe who conſidered him as their commander in chief. Apprehenſion and diſtruſt were, in conſequence, ſoon eaſily revived among the Proteſtants.

But there being as yet no other than merely viſionary or ideal grounds for either, they both would have been gradually diſſipated by the operation of thoſe juſt and liberal notions, with regard to religion, and that unprecedented zeal for the welfare of Ireland which prevailed among Iriſhmen of all deſcriptions, had it not been for an event of an extremely unpropitious nature which ſoon afterwards occurred; namely the inſurrection of the peaſantry in the province of Munſter, under the denomination of Right Boys. This happened in the autumn of the year 1785. It appears to have been occaſioned thus. The overwhelmed ſtate in which the

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the manufactures of Ireland ſtill were, and were likely to be, through the want of adequate protecting duties; and the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn which were granted in the ſeſſion 1783-4, had generally the effects of diverting the exertions of people of ſubſtance from the former, and directing them to the latter as the ſureſt ſource of wealth. Agriculture, conſequently, began to be purſued with ſpirit, eſpecially in the ſouth; and the country-gentlemen were, for the moſt part, deeply engaged or intereſted therein. Their attention was thus neceſſarily turned to whatever was likely to promote or impede this profitable purſuit. Among the circumſtances of the latter nature, tithes were perceived to hold a conſpicuous place. Riſing with the value of the crop, they were conſidered as having the effect of diſcouraging exertions on the part of the farmers; and ultimately that of injuring the landlords, or at leaſt preventing them from deriving the full benefit from their land. Their proportionate increaſe ſeemed to render them eſſentially more oppreſſive than the higheſt rents; as theſe laſt being fixed and unalterable for one-and-twenty, or one-and-thirty years, the propoſing tenant had a previous knowledge of the burden he was about to encumber himſelf with, could decline it or not as he thought proper; and felt aſſured that, if free from tithes, the whole profit he might make by the expenditure of capital or ſuperiour ſkill would be excluſively his own. Under theſe impreſſions, ſeveral proteſtant country-gentlemen, (at leaſt if we are to believe the broad aſſertions of the pamphleteers of that day, which, by the way, the writer remembers to have then conſidered as well founded,) inſpirited the peaſantry to reſiſt the payment of tithes. This ſtep could not fail to produce an immediate and extenſive effect; the lower claſs of farmers being extremely poor; the agricultural labourers, who ſubſiſted their families on the potatoes produced by a rented acre of land, being unequally and peculiarly oppreſſed by the demand of tithe, and the exactions and practices of tithe-proctors, tithe-farmers, and canters; and the inhabitants of the country being chiefly of the Roman Catholic religion, and conſequently under the neceſſity of providing for their own clergy alſo *. The inſurrection

* The tithes levied by the proteſtant clergy of Ireland, though for the moſt part confined to corn, hay, potatoes and flax, and, in ſome parts of Ireland, not extending even to all theſe, are yet, for the reaſons briefly aſſigned above, more oppreſſive on the little farmers

rection accordingly ſpread quickly throughout the whole province of Munſter, and even beyond it.

Doctor Woodward, biſhop of Cloyne, whoſe epiſcopal revenue was, in a very conſiderable degree, derived from tithes, and conſequently in danger of a ſerious diminution through the practices of the inſurgents, felt himſelf urged to impreſs on the public mind the diſtreſſes experienced by the eſtabliſhed clergy in the ſouth. His lordſhip, however, did not confine himſelf to a ſimple recital or repreſentation of the then condition of the proteſtant clergy, with reſpect to their revenues; but conſidered it as alſo incumbent on him to detect the latent cauſe of the outrages committed by the Right Boys; in order that an effectual remedy might be applied. The cauſe juſt mentioned, and which was evidently and confeſſedly the true and only one, was rejected as a primary cauſe, by his Lordſhip, who conſidered himſelf warranted in aſcribing the effects, which were daily experienced, to an ancient and deep-rooted deſign to undermine and overthrow the proteſtant church. The ſtation, the talents, the moral worth, the liberality, and the decorous conduct of that prelate conduced to occaſion an unequalled circulation of his pamphlet, among the higher and middle ranks of the Proteſtants; and the circumſtance of the inſurrection having been confined to thoſe counties wherein the peaſantry are

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mers and peaſantry, than the numerous tithes which are levied by the clergy of England, and which affect not only the foregoing articles, but cattle, fowl, eggs, and almoſt every article which the farmer ſends to market. The following extract from the tithe note of an Engliſh vicar will ſhew the Iriſh reader the difference between the demands of the Engliſh and Iriſh clergy.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. T.——	4	8	4½
Wool	1	9	9
Lambs	1	13	9
1 Pig		7	0
Cows	1	10	4½
2 Mares and Colts	1	0	
16 young cattle	8	0	
2 Geeſe		3	0
Potatoes		4	0*
	£4	8	4½

* The charge for potatoes is 14s. per acre.

The uſual charges for articles not mentioned in this note are as follow: viz.

	£.	s.	d.	
Bees	0	0	6	
Flax	0	2	0	per meaſure
Hemp	0	2	1	do.
Turnips	0	2	6	per acre

Eggs, one for each cock, three for each hen.

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chiefly of the Roman Catholic communion, gave additional weight to his lordſhip's aſſertions *.

Much about the ſame time, Doctor Butler, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Caſhell, a prelate of a highly reſpectable family, and conſidered as a man of much worth, publiſhed an account of the indignities and atrocities which the inſurgents practiſed on the clergy of his communion; and which indeed were frequently noticed in the newſpapers of the time. His publication however, replete with facts calculated to diſcredit the opinion, with regard to the origin of the diſturbances, which biſhop Woodward ſeemed ſolicitous to propagate, fell into the hands of few Proteſtants; and conſequently failed, in a very great degree, to counteract the tendency of the former: a tendency which the enemies of union among the people of Ireland induſtriouſly foſtered.

Apprehenſion and diſtruſt were of courſe raiſed to a high pitch. Even in the county of Cork, where the Roman Catholic biſhop, Lord Dunboyne, zealouſly aſſiſted in concerting meaſures to put down the Right Boys; and where Proteſtant gentlemen were denounced as the fomenters of the diſturbances, there appears to have been a very general aſſent to the opinion of the biſhop of Cloyne. The Proteſtants now began, and were ſtudiouſly taught to ſuſpect the Roman Catholics of diſloyal deſigns; and of aiming at the recovery of the poſſeſſions which their anceſtors had forfeited. And a map of Ireland, vaguely deſcriptive of theſe poſſeſſions, publiſhed about this time, with what view it is hard to ſay, tended to confirm this laſt ſuſpicion; which a little calm reflection would have ſhewn to be groundleſs; and which indeed was ſoon afterwards generally admitted to be ſo †. The welfare of Ireland, which ſo imperiouſly required the

* See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

† If a fair reſumption of forfeited property were to take place, which however is utterly impoſſible, the Proteſtants would certainly be entitled to tracts of immenſe extent and value; perhaps more extenſive and valuable than thoſe which the Roman Catholics could claim; a vaſt many of the latter being evidently of Engliſh extraction, while a vaſt many of the former, as their names evince, are of ancient Iriſh race.

1. The following Engliſh names appear in the liſt of the Roman Catholic eccleſiaſtics, who regiſtered their names and places of abode, purſuant to an act paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1781-2? Boland, Boland, Carr, Green, Ward, Jennings, Jennings, Hughes, Waldron, Hickey, Smith,

the ſtrict union of the inhabitants, had now nearly ceaſed to be a primary object of concern with the generality of Iriſhmen; and the door was laid open for acting, with effect, on the Machiavelian maxim, *divide et impera*.

An expreſſion uſed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, in the debate on the commercial propoſitions, viz. "that Ireland could not exiſt an hour, as a proteſtant ſtate, if the protection of England were withdrawn," was, on many occaſions, adverted to, and enlarged on as an indiſputable truiſm, with the view of reviving, on the part of the Proteſtants, that apprehenſion of the Roman Catholics, and that conſequent ſubmiſſion to Britain, which had ſunk their country very far below that place in the ſcale of European nations which ſhe was qualified by nature to hold.

Another event, ſtrongly tending to perfect that diſunion, which had now unfortunately been renewed between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, ſoon after happened. There had, for ſome time, exiſted, in the north, two obſcure parties; the one conſtituted chiefly of Diſſenters, and denominated Peep-of-Day Boys; the other of Roman Catholics, under the denomination of Defenders. Theſe hoſtile parties, which the magiſtracy ought to have reſtrained and reconciled, had frequently come to blows; and their conflicts were attended with various ſucceſs. At length the former, who on this occaſion were not the aggreſſors, obtained, by the aid of the military and neighbouring gentry, a complete victory over the latter; and compelled them to quit the province of Ulſter. They

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Smith, Field, Percy, Broderick, Morris, Cummings, Hoſty, Sherlock, Anderſon, White, Brown, Caulfield, Jones, Roſſiter, Ivory, Phillips, Ruſh, Williams, Swift, Shaw, Berry, Clarke, Clarke, Woodcock, Grace, Mortimer, Haydon, Mansfield, Gibbons, Gibbons, Carpenter and Wall; amounting to 42, out of 225. On the other hand, we find the following Iriſh names, viz. Leahy, Murphy, O'Brien, Ryan, Mahon, Grogan, O'Mara, O'Neile, O'Beirne, O'Connor, Kenny, Kearney, Kelly, Moore, Coughlan, Horan, Dunn, Magennis, Walſh, Donovan, Mooney, and a vaſt many others among the proteſtant clergy. We alſo find among them, the names of Barrett, Bourke, Butler, Fitzgerald and others of the ſame claſs, which, though not the names of aboriginal Iriſh families, are thoſe of families of great antiquity in Ireland, and by whom vaſt tracts of land were forfeited in conſequence of the ſucceſſive rebellions in which religion was concerned.

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preſently ſpread through the counties of Louth, Cavan and Meath; were joined by conſiderable numbers of the loweſt order of the people; rifled almoſt every unprotected houſe of arms; ſoon relinquiſhed their original character; and became downright levellers, without any apparent political object in view. A conſiderable number of them, more peaceably inclined than the reſt, ſought refuge in the northern part of the province of Connaught; and being for the moſt part induſtrious people, and converſant in the linen manufacture, were well received by the country-gentlemen; who had been too much accuſtomed to a Roman Catholic tenantry to admit of their entertaining an objection to theſe emigrants on account of their religion. The treatment which theſe people had experienced from their former neighbours was not however forgotten; nor did they reſtrain themſelves from indulging in expreſſions full of rancour and reſentment, calculated to excite a high degree of animoſity againſt the Proteſtants, on the part of the Roman Catholics among whom they had taken up their abodes. This laſt effect appears accordingly to have been produced. A ſpirit hoſtile to the Proteſtants, accompanied by that undiſtinguiſhing ſpirit of levelling which pervaded the counties before mentioned, ſoon after broke forth in the northern part of the province of Connaught *.

The pervaſion of this ſpirit, pregnant with various outrages, in both places, had neceſſarily the effect of heightening the apprehenſion of the Proteſtants, and increaſing their alienation from the Roman Catholics.

Repeated expreſſions of diſtruſt and hatred, which were known to have eſcaped from ſome of the higher rank of the former, and which were probably ſuggeſted as much by the inculcated, as the well-grounded fear of the day, appear to have diſcouraged many leading and loyal gentlemen, among the latter, in the county of Meath, from attending the different meetings which were held there, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures to put down the Defenders, as the inſurgents were then called; and this circumſtance was immediately laid hold of, and employed as an evidence

* The diſturbances in the province of Connaught were very far from being formidable. The writer was ordered to proceed thither, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, from the county of Cork, with the north Cork militia then under his command. But a detachment of the Londonderry militia had completely ſuppreſſed the Defenders before his arrival.

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of diſloyalty on the part of theſe gentlemen; though many who employed it as ſuch, well knew that they themſelves were not more loyal than the men whom they had the audacity to implicate in a general and unſupported accuſation.

The progreſs of the Defenders, at length, rendered indiſpenſable the active interference of the government; which, by the way, had been ſo long poſtponed as to excite ſurpriſe and warrant cenſure.

The ſubject fell under diſcuſſion, in the Houſe of Lords, in February 1793: when the then Lord Chancellor, earl of Clare, who, it was well known, was far from being a friend to the Roman Catholics, took occaſion to reſcue them from thoſe ſuſpicions which the Proteſtants had become too prone to entertain. His Lordſhip ſaid "he had converſed with Roman Catholic gentlemen reſpecting the Defenders; that they declared to him, (and he knew them to be *loyal* and *honourable* men,) that they could not ſift to the bottom of the diſturbance; that they believed the diſturbers were ſet on, but by whom the principal gentlemen of their communion had been unable to diſcover. The Houſe of Lords, unable to attach blame to the Roman Catholics, completely acquitted them of promoting or countenancing the diſturbances in queſtion; yet theſe partial diſturbances, in which the rabble only were concerned, like that in the ſouth, were unbluſhingly proclaimed, by intriguers and factionaries, as an evidence of ſyſtematic hoſtility againſt the Proteſtants. To this cauſe, indeed, moſt of the ſucceſſive local diſturbances in Ireland have been habitually, blindly, and pertinaciouſly imputed, although their true cauſes were ſufficiently obvious. The riſings of the *Hearts of Oak*, and of the *Hearts of Steel*, all of whom were proteſtant diſſenters, ought to have kept the Proteſtants free from this ſhameful and dangerous error.

But the event which raiſed the apprehenſions of the Proteſtants almoſt to the deſired degree, was one which occurred ſhortly before Defenderiſm became alarming; and of which this diſturbance greatly augmented the efficacy. The event alluded to, was the aſſembling of Roman Catholic delegates, for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing their claims, and laying them in due form before the Legiſlature.

So long as the Proteſtants had liberally, prudently, and becomingly extended their valuable aid to the Roman Catholics, the latter confidently left the amelioration of their political condition in the hands of the former.

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But when that aid was wholly withdrawn, under the influence of groundleſs ſuſpicions, inſidiouſly propagated; when they found that every opportunity was taken to preclude them from a continued fruition of it, they naturally reſolved to rely, on their own conſtitutional exertions, for the attainment of an equitable participation of civil and political rights with their proteſtant countrymen: and could not be deſtitute of a moſt ſanguine hope that their increaſing wealth and number would, ſooner or later, diſpoſe the Legiſlature to admit and comply with their well founded claims. This ſpirit of independence, which, by the way, they had imbibed from the Proteſtants, and this confidence in their own ſufficiency, which a cloſer examination of their circumſtances had inſpired them with, were eaſily admitted, by a majority of the Proteſtants, as grounds of ſerious alarm: and ſeveral corporations and grand juries were, in conſequence, without difficulty, induced to remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the Roman Catholics.

The delegates however of ſeveral of the northern counties, aſſembled at Dungannon, paſſed reſolutions in favour both of parliamentary reform, and the complete emancipation of their Roman Catholic fellow ſubjects.

The expedient of alternately raiſing and depreſſing the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants, ſeems to have been, at this time, reſorted to, with the view of increaſing their mutual jealouſy and apprehenſion; and with the ulterior view of facilitating the meaſure of legiſlative union, which certainly was in contemplation. The grand juries and corporations had ſcarcely manifeſted their diſapprobation of the conduct of the Roman Catholics, when the latter, after being treated with contemptuous neglect at the Caſtle, were authoritatively encouraged to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. They did ſo. Their prayer was attended to. And the Iriſh Parliament was ſoon afterwards intentionally brought into diſrepute, both among the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, by being made to yield, under the influence of adminiſtration, to a meaſure which a conſiderable majority of its members individually deprecated; and which had before been ſcouted out of the Houſe. The Roman Catholics, thus unaided by the Proteſtants, or rather notwithſtanding their oppoſition, obtained that valuable right, the right of ſuffrage. The act which extended to them this right, viz. 33 G. III. c. 21. alſo exempted them from penalties for educating their children in the popiſh religion: and enabled them to hold all places,

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civil and *military*, except a few of the more elevated and confidential ones.

The conduct of government, on this occaſion, was evidently calculated to infuſe additional confidence into the Roman Catholics; to alienate them from their Proteſtant repreſentatives; and to ſink the Parliament ſtill lower in the eſteem of the nation. The Proteſtants, out of doors, had found, in 1779 and 1780, that little national benefit could be obtained from Parliament unleſs recourſe was had to intimidation; and the Roman Catholics, in 1793, found that no relief would be extended to them, unleſs through the interference of the miniſter. The important civil right which they were now enabled to exerciſe, and which, as we have already ſeen, the more patriotic, liberal, and prudent of their Proteſtant countrymen were ſolicitous to procure for them; but which government ſeaſonably granted as a boon, to direct their gratitude to another quarter, placed them neceſſarily in ſuch a ſituation, in the community, as rendered the withholding of the remaining benefits of the conſtitution from them, tantamount to a grievance.

"It is vain to imagine," ſaid Mr. Foſter, when oppoſing the bill alluded to, that admiſſion to the elective franchiſe does not draw with it the right of repreſentation, it will follow, whether you chuſe it or not; for upon what grounds can you ſay that men are fit to be electors, and unfit to be elected?"

To raiſe the expectations of the Roman Catholics ſtill higher, and at the ſame time to turn the minds of the Proteſtants, by dint of alarm, from thoſe projects of political improvement which they ſtill very generally continued to cheriſh, Lord Fitzwilliam was ſent from England, as chief governor, with diſcretionary power in reſpect of the further claims of the Roman Catholics; and their advocate, Mr. Grattan, was choſen as his ſecretary *.

From the moment, however, that his Excellency became impreſſed with the urgency of uſing the diſcretionary power with which he conſidered himſelf inveſted, his recal ſeems to have been reſolved on. Earl Camden was forthwith appointed to ſucceed him. And thoſe public men, who had given the ſtrongeſt proofs of hoſtility to the Roman Catholic claims, were

* See the noble Lord's letters to the Earl of Carliſle.

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invited to aſſiſt in the government of Ireland. The Proteſtant party, conſiſting of thoſe who, on mere principles of faction, were adverſe to the elevation of the Roman Catholics, and of thoſe who had been alienated from them by miſconceptions and miſconſtructions of recent events, now became triumphant: and the Roman Catholics, in their turn, were plunged into a ſtate of deſpair, ſimilar to that from which the Proteſtant party had juſt been reſcued.

If the Preſbyterians of Scotland, the Preſbyterians of Ireland, or even thoſe of England had been encouraged and diſappointed as the Roman Catholics of Ireland were, the event would probably have ſoon been followed by ſerious diſturbances. If the expectations of the Proteſtants of Ireland, when in purſuit of legiſlative independence, had been thus promptly blaſted, there can be little doubt that a ſyſtematic rebellion would have enſued.

The leading Roman Catholics of Ireland, on the occaſion in queſtion, though highly irritated, forebore to outrage the principles of loyalty and prudence. The affecting repreſentations, indeed, of the emigrant clergy of France, had occaſioned a very ſtrong, and a very general abhorrence of jacobinical principles, among the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland: and the latter could ſcarcely hope to intimidate government into a compliance with their wiſhes, without uniting with thoſe by whom theſe principles had been, or were likely to be adopted.

This equipoiſe, this alternate elevation and depreſſion of parties, this debilitating ſtate of mutual jealouſy, repulſion and dread, ſeemed to preſent an unprecedentedly favourable opportunity for introducing with effect, the long meditated meaſure of legiſlative union. The arguments and conſiderations which were ſubſequently urged in its behalf, had as much intrinſic cogency then, as at any other period: and happy would it have been for Ireland, and perhaps for the empire, had it been carried into effect, before blood was ſhed, wealth waſted, and religious rancour invigorated. But it appears to have been deemed premature and imprudent even to mention that meaſure, ſo long as there exiſted any reaſonable doubt of its ſucceſs. Beſides, the then aſpect of the circumſtances of Ireland was ſuch as to create an expectation, that a peculiarly propitious conjuncture would ſoon occur.

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SECTION III.

Rebellion of 1798.

THE Roman Catholics had now become univerſally diſcontented, and very generally alienated from the government, or exaſperated againſt it. The advocates for parliamentary reform, though greatly diminiſhed in number, were, if poſſible, ſtill more zealous than they had been. Republican principles, analogous to thoſe which were operating in France, were cheriſhed by the Diſſenters in the north. The preſſure of tithes, and exactions of thoſe who levied them, were as grievous as ever. And there exiſted a ſecret, well organiſed, and active ſociety, that of the United Iriſhmen, the real objects whereof were to ſeparate Ireland from England; to eſtabliſh a republican government in the former; and to aboliſh utterly, not only every diſqualification on account of religion, but likewiſe all church eſtabliſhments. The ſeeds of rebellion were every where ſown; and the means of bringing it to maturity were now in full operation.

This ſociety, which may be traced back to the year 1784, appears to have been ſyſtematically inſtituted in the year 1791. It conſiſted, in its incipient ſtate, chiefly of thoſe who, at the aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin, in the former year, and at ſeveral of the meetings in the north, eſpecially in Belfaſt, were ſtrenuous in behalf of extending to the Roman Catholics that right which government enabled them to exerciſe in 1793. It does not appear to have been originally actuated by rebellious motives, whatever may have been thoſe of ſome of the individuals who compoſed it; but ſimply by an ardent deſire to improve the political condition of Ireland, by a reformation of parliament, and admiſſion of the Roman Catholics to all the benefits of the conſtitution. Even after it had aſſumed a conſiſtent form, there is reaſon to infer, from its having had no connection with the Defenders, that the overthrow of all exiſting eſtabliſhments was not the prevailing object of its members. It ſoon however embraced, and fell under the direction of the treacherous agents of France. Its endeavours were thenceforward ſecretly and ſedulouſly directed to concen-

concentrate the paſſions and energies of the diſſatisfied and diſaffected of all deſcriptions. And with this view, its active miſſionaries artfully ſhaped their ſeductive language to the prejudices, propenſities, and grievances which they found to prevail with different individuals, and in different quarters. It was very generally avoided by the higher orders; and univerſally ſo, by the moderate and reflecting men of both religions, who wiſely deprecated the pervaſion of French jacobinical principles through Ireland. But it was ſoon joined by multitudes of the lower orders of Proteſtant diſſenters and Roman Catholics; ſo that its leading members, in the year 1798, found themſelves at the head of nearly 300,000 men, ready to attempt the overthrow of the goverment. They ſtill continued, however, to exert their utmoſt activity in increaſing the number, and perfecting the organization of the rebellious; prudently endeavouring to poſtpone the day of trial, until the arrival of expected ſuccours from France.

Under theſe circumſtances it, at length, became extremely difficult to prevent a rebellion. But it may fairly be queſtioned, whether this combination of circumſtances might not have been ſeaſonably prevented or countervailed.

To affirm that the government of Ireland facilitated the growth of rebellion, for the purpoſe of effecting the union, would be to hold language not perhaps ſufficiently warranted by facts. But to affirm that the rebellion was kept alive for that purpoſe, ſeems perfectly warrantable.—The charge was boldly made, in the writer's hearing, during one of the debates on the union, by an honourable gentleman who held a profitable place under the crown *. —And to affirm, that that meaſure never would have been carried into effect, without the occurrence of a rebellion, ſimilar, in reſpect of its attendant and previous circumſtances, to that of 1798, is to advance what nineteen in twenty men who were acquainted with the political ſentiments of the Iriſh people, at that time, will feel little difficulty in aſſenting to.

The exploſion, which was now expected by all, was fortunately accelerated by government; perhaps under an apprehenſion of its becoming

* Many loyal inhabitants of the city of Cork are prepared to affirm that notorious rebels, men who belonged to a committee of aſſaſſination, were liberated without proſecution, and ſuffered to remain at large.

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formidably extenſive, if longer delayed. But however fortunate this ſtep, with reference to the preſervation of the exiſting eſtabliſhments, the precipitate, rigorous, and indeed cruel expedients which were reſorted to, in order to hurry the rebellious prematurely into action, can never be ſufficiently deplored; inaſmuch as they ſerved to occaſion, or ſanction thoſe ferocious retaliations, on the part of the rebels, which have caſt an almoſt indelible ſtain on the Iriſh character: and can ſcarcely be recollected, by the kindred or friends of the ſufferers, without the ſtrongeſt ſenſations of abhorrence, and a total alienation from thoſe whom it might be their duty and intereſt to protect and conciliate.

A rebellion, in conſequence, broke out: and was attended, during the ſhort time it laſted, with all the ferocity of former rebellions; and with thoſe atrocious violations of the different relationſhips of ſocial life which characteriſed the progreſs of jacobiniſm in France.

The ſtate of high diſſatisfaction, amounting, for the moſt part, to diſaffection, in which the Roman Catholics were, or were naturally ſuppoſed to be, at the time when the rebellion broke out, in conſequence of the cruel diſappointment of their juſt and ſanguine expectations, the abrupt diſmiſſal of their friends from power, and the confidence which government repoſed excluſively in their moſt determined adverſaries; thoſe ſuſpicions of their ultimate deſigns, which the Proteſtants had recently been taught to entertain; and the violence with which the rebellion raged in ſeveral of the counties, where the Roman Catholics are much more numerous than the Proteſtants; together with the horrid barbarities practiſed on the latter, in theſe counties, by an infuriate rabble, occaſionally headed or goaded forward by a few reprobate prieſts, whom their ſuperiours had cenſured or ſilenced, ſufficiently facilitated the currency of an opinion, that the rebellion was the work of the Roman Catholics: an opinion which, doubtleſs with a view to the accompliſhment of the union, by means of a diſſemination and invigoration of principles of diſtruſt and diviſion, it ſeems to have been thought expedient to propagate; and which, accordingly, was induſtriouſly propagated, very generally received, and ſtill continues, with all its miſchievous effects, to prevail; although ſufficient facts are not wanting to prove it utterly erroneous. In truth, if a Roman Catholic writer were diſpoſed to detract from the loyalty of the Pro-

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Proteſtants, on this and other occaſions, he might perhaps find, in the annals of the laſt five-and-thirty years, as fit materials for his purpoſe, as a Proteſtant writer could find for the purpoſe of ſinking his Roman Catholic countrymen in the eſteem of the loyal. Thoſe diſturbers of the public peace, denominated *Hearts of Oak* and *Hearts of Steel*, were, for the moſt part, Proteſtant diſſenters. The diſturbances in the ſouth of Ireland, in 1785, were fomented chiefly by Proteſtants of the church of England. And as for the rebellion in queſtion, notwithſtanding the multitude of Roman Catholics who engaged in it, and the barbarous outrages they committed, it may as fairly be called a Proteſtant rebellion, as a regiment is called a Proteſtant regiment, in which all the officers, and a conſiderable part of the privates, are of that religion.

In the initiative department, the executive department, the military department, the diplomatic department, and in the commiſſariat department of the rebels, the principal perſons were, for the moſt part, Proteſtants. We find among them, the names of Rowan, Jackſon, Tandy, Emmit, Bond, Nielſon, O'Conner, M'Nevin, Sheares, Tone, Edward Fitzgerald, Ruſſel, Harvey, Lewins, Croſbie, and Grogan: all of whom were more or leſs prominent perſons, and all of whom were either Proteſtants or Preſbyterians, with the ſingle exception of Dr. M'Nevin, who declared before Parliament, and was known to ſpeak truth on the occaſion, that the intention of the rebels was to aboliſh all church eſtabliſhments; and that he would as ſoon eſtabliſh the Mahometan, as the Roman religion.

The gentlemen who were moſt conſpicuous, or vehement at the different Roman Catholic meetings, ſuch as Meſſrs. Burn, Braughall, M'Donnell, Ryan, Sweetman, Geoghegan, Hamill, Warren, Keogh, Ball, M'Gwire, and Dr. M'Nevin, were not, with the exception of the laſt, as far as the writer's knowledge reaches, implicated in the rebellion. Had they been ſo, they probably would have accompanied ſome of the before-mentioned gentlemen to the gallows, or to a diſtant country; as the vigilant eyes of thoſe, who entertained the ſtrongeſt doubts of Roman Catholic loyalty, were perpetually directed towards them; and ſuſpicion alone was ſaid to have proved fatal to many, during the height of the conteſt.

By a return, found among the papers of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, it appeared that there were, in February 1798, 279,896 armed rebels, whoſe

pecuniary preparations, by the way, for carrying on the war, did not exceed 1,485l. 4s. 9d. Of theſe, 110,990 were in the province of Ulſter, where the Proteſtants are infinitely more numerous than in the other provinces; and in one county of which (Antrim), as the writer was informed by an officer in that county militia, the Roman Catholics, on account of their ſuperiour loyalty, were preferred, as militia ſubſtitutes, before the Preſbyterians. In fact, it was among the latter, almoſt excluſively, that a rebellious ſpirit prevailed. Of the remaining 168,906 armed rebels, it ſeems extremely probable, that at leaſt 8,906 were not Roman Catholics; and if ſo, there probably was not more than about one-fifth of the Roman Catholics able to bear arms, actively engaged in the rebellion; while there was one-half of the Proteſtants, able to bear arms, concerned therein: admitting that the rebels, in the province of Ulſter, were almoſt excluſively Proteſtant diſſenters; which ſeems very likely, as the rebellion broke out in the moſt Proteſtant part of that province. At the battles of Saintfield and Ballinahinch, the rebels, it is believed, were Proteſtants to a man. It does not appear that there was a ſingle Roman Catholic organized, or prepared for the rebellion in the year 1797, except in the counties of Kildare and Weſtmeath, and the City of Dublin: in the latter of which, by the way, the whole number of rebels who ſurrendered their arms, after the extinction of the rebellion, and when it became both uſeleſs and dangerous to retain them, was only 1,064 *. To theſe facts, it may be added, that Roman Catholic biſhops exerted their talents and influence in behalf of the government; that Roman Catholic Prieſts effectually aſſiſted His Majeſty's commanding officers at the riſk of their lives; that Roman Catholic yeomen, in corps commanded by zealous Proteſtants, and in corps commanded by Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, fought the rebels with the utmoſt alacrity and effect;

* Several months after this work was prepared for preſs, Mr. Parnell's faithful hiſtory of the penal laws fell into the writer's hands. The writer has not the honour of being acquainted with that gentleman; nor has ever had even an indirect communication with him, and yet the hiſtoric ſketch given in this work, as far as it relates to the Roman Catholics, coincides almoſt as perfectly with Mr. Parnell's hiſtory, as if both were written in concert: a circumſtance which may fairly be conſidered as tending to confirm the veracity of either.

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and that ſeveral of thoſe regiments of militia, which were compoſed chiefly of Roman Catholics, diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the rebels *; while Proteſtants of the higher and lower orders were in arms againſt the crown.

Notwithſtanding theſe facts, the rebellion, becauſe, in its progreſs, it raged among the rabble in Roman Catholic diſtricts, was boldly pronounced a popiſh rebellion, by thoſe who were anxious to have it thought ſo; and implicitly believed to be ſuch by the prejudiced and unthinking dupes of the day; and by thoſe who were unfortunately deceived by the attrocities committed within the ſpheres of their knowledge.

Had it, in reality, been a Roman Catholic rebellion, the extenſive counties of Cork, Galway, Kerry, Waterford, Limerick, and Clare, which contain upwards of ſix millions of acres, or near one-third of the area of Ireland; and in which the Roman Catholics are to the Proteſtants as at leaſt 20 to 1, upon the whole, would certainly not have remained ſo tranquil as they did; nor have been ſo backward as to admit of the military force being drawn from any of them to put down the rebels in Leinſter; which yet was the caſe. On the contrary, the rebellion would probably have raged, with the greateſt violence, in theſe counties: ſome of them, as Kerry and Galway, for inſtance, by the remoteneſs of ſeveral of their diſtricts from garriſon towns, affording ſafe places for rebels to be trained to the uſe of arms; and, by their mountainous nature, preſenting the moſt favourable theatres for the deſultory and irregular warfare of rebels: and where they probably would have completely baffled ſome of thoſe luxurious, or foppiſh generals, who are too frequently found upon the crowded ſtaff, and whoſe ignorance, incapacity, inactivity, and ſelf-ſufficiency, threaten to render Britiſh and Iriſh valour of little avail †. The King's troops are not always led to battle by a Stewart, a Moore, a Spencer, a Welleſley ‡, or a Beresford who appears, to the writer, to poſſeſs every quality

* In the North Cork regiment of militia, of which the writer was major, about two years before the rebellion, the Roman Catholics were to the Proteſtants, as about two to one. This regiment loſt about one-third of its number, or about 200 men during the rebellion; and as the writer has ſince been credibly informed, was never, in the leaſt degree, diſgraced, either by rebellious or mutinous practices or principles.

† It was long after the rebellion, that the mountains of Wicklow were cleared of the banditti who infeſted them.

‡ Notwithſtanding the convention of Cintra.

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which the Iriſh ſoldier, at leaſt, could with to ſee aſſembled in the character of his general; and under whoſe command, Iriſhmen will probably never diſappoint the ſanguine expectations of their King and country.

The Roman Catholics of Ireland have, for many years paſt, been a diſunited people: and there probably will never be a general coaleſcence among them, ſo long as there ſhall exiſt a becoming and laudable diſpoſition, on the part of government, to gratify deſerving individuals of that religion; and to conciliate the body at large, by ſteadily and uniformly reſtraining and diſcountenancing all unneceſſary rigour, and every ſort of injuſtice, partiality, or illiberality in the exerciſe of the different functions of the magiſtracy, and by holding forth due and effective encouragement to that ſpirit of induſtry which evidently gains ſtrength and grows more prevalent among them. But ſhould the principles of union be ever generally propagated, among the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the joint and continued agency of neglect, partiality, diſtruſt, provocation and indifference with regard to thoſe purſuits which incline them to peace; and ſhould they, in a ſtate of union, be driven to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion, by ſome projecting, headſtrong, and inconſiderate miniſter, thoſe who ignorantly or deſignedly under-rate their actual importance, in the political ſcale of the empire, will aſſuredly find them ten thouſand times more formidable rebels than the rebels of 1798.

The complete ſuppreſſion of this ſhort rebellion, appears to have ultimately induced the neceſſity of employing more than 130,000 ſoldiers, of different deſcriptions, including upwards of 16,621 belonging to the domeſtic indiſpoſable force of England *. The expenſes of the military eſtabliſhment, which amounted to no more than 1,891,967l. in the year ended in 1797, after four years of war, were raiſed, by it, to 4,965,122l. in the year ended 25th of March 1800. The net funded debt of Ireland, which in the former year, amounted only to 6,025,426l., was augmented to 25,662,640l.† in the latter. The deſtruction of private property, which accompanied it, was very conſiderable; the claims of the ſuffering loyaliſts

*See Table marked XV. in the Appendix.

† The regiments of Engliſh militia employed in Ireland were, the Bedford, 817 men, Worceſter 1,159, N. Glouceſter 1,169, Rl. Bucks 1,634, S. Devon 1,158, Dorſet 1,126, S. Lincoln 1,047, Leiceſter 1,443, Kent 1,278, Hertford 1,275, W. Suffolk 1,358, Firſt Lancaſhire 1,280, Warwick 1,877, beſides one of the Yorkſhire regiments and one or two regiments of the Welch militia, the returns whereof the writer has not ſeen.

having

having amounted to 823,517l. It checked the growth of manufactures in Ireland; prudent or timid men being diſcouraged by it from engaging in thoſe purſuits which required the employment of conſiderable capitals. The demands of the numerous army, ſtationed in Ireland, conduced, no doubt, to increaſe the profits of tillage; and thereby to compenſate for the repreſſion of manufactures. But it is a fact, ſufficiently well known, that a vaſt number of farmers hoarded up their increaſed gains, deterred, by the threatening aſpect of the times, from employing them in improving their land, and thus increaſing their wealth, and eventually that of the nation *.

The rebellion certainly increaſed the number of abſentees very conſiderably; and conſequently augmented the burden of taxes on the reſident inhabitants of Ireland. It occaſioned the expenditure of a vaſt ſum of public money, in criminal proſecutions, which might have been employed, with the greateſt benefit, in encouraging a ſpirit of induſtry. In the year ended 25th March 1795, the charge, for that purpoſe, was 12,000l.: but, ſubſequently to the rebellion, it has annually been 25,000l.† The rebellion, likewiſe, ſanctioned laws inconſiſtent with the liberty of the ſubject, and the ſpirit of the conſtitution. Indeed the people of Ireland may be ſaid to have been debarred from the enjoyment of their political birthrights ever ſince that event; and to have been expoſed to, what, it muſt be owned, they did not often feel, the rigours of military deſpotiſm. Finally, the rebellion effectually prepared the way for a diſadvantageous and inequitable legiſlative union with Britain: a meaſure which could never have been accompliſhed without it; and which many of the ſupporters of that meaſure now lament.

* The effects of theſe increaſed gains, ſhould tranquillity prevail in Ireland, will ſoon be viſible on the face of the country. Already the farmers, in ſome diſtricts, have begun to build ſtone and ſlate houſes in lieu of their mud-wall thatched cabins, the facility of burning which, by night, without detection, expoſed them to the vengeance of the rebels, in the event of their declining to join them; and which, therefore, is ſaid, and with an appearance of truth, to have induced many of them to do ſo.

† See Number XXXI. in the Appendix.

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SECTION IV.

Legiſlative Union of Britain and Ireland.

THE circumſtances of Ireland, immediately ſubſequent to the rebellion, preſented a ſingularly favourable opportunity for carrying into effect the long meditated meaſure of union. In truth a more auſpicious conjuncture could not occur. And that which was then preſent was not likely to continue. Accordingly no time was loſt in bringing it forward. Had it not been brought under diſcuſſion before the embers of rebellion were completely extinguiſhed, and before thoſe crazing paſſions and prejudices, which were neceſſarily excited or revived by that event, had begun to ſubſide; had it been deferred for one year longer; or had adminiſtration omitted, or failed to impreſs, ſeparately, the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, then inſidiouſly alienated from each other, with a belief that that meaſure was the only mean whereby their reſpective objects could be attained, the execution of it would certainly have been found impracticable. Even under the then exiſting circumſtances of Ireland, when the life, property or power of almoſt every man ſeemed, in a greater or leſs degree, threatened with danger, from ſome quarter or other — when every man was diſpoſed to graſp at almoſt any expedient that appeared to promiſe ſafety — when there was an army in the country competent to reduce to any terms the diſunited Iriſh — when the diſſatisfaction of one party, with regard to the meaſure in queſtion, ſeemed calculated to inſure the concurrence of the other therein — even in the midſt of theſe difficult and embarraſſing circumſtances, petitions from the freeholders of 26 counties, out of the 32, were preſented againſt the union, in February 1800; accompanied by petitions of the freemen, electors, merchants, &c. of ten towns, including Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda and Newry. Theſe petitions, which then appeared without any of an oppoſite nature, except from the counties of Monaghan and Down, from whence petitions againſt the union had alſo been tranſmitted, proved, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that the meaſure was peculiarly repugnant to the wiſhes of the people of Ireland.

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The grounds, however, of this general repugnance were, as is uſual on ſimilar occaſions, extremely different, according to views of different individuals. Some were violent oppoſers of the union, on account of its utter incompatibility with their private intereſts: and by the exertions of theſe, multitudes were taught to exclaim againſt it. Others ſtill retained the deep impreſſions, with reſpect to Iriſh independence, which were made in 1782. Some ſtill looked forward to a reformation of Parliament. And many were influenced by a perſuaſion that every benefit which a union could produce might be obtained without it.

But notwithſtanding this general repugnance, the number of its real ſupporters in Parliament, and its nominal favourers out of Parliament, was at length, by ſtratagem, bribery, intimidation and promiſes, ſufficiently augmented to enable the government to carry it into effect, without reſorting to violent and hazardous expedients.

Of thoſe who ſupported the union, few appeared to be duly impreſſed with the real expediency of that meaſure; which conſiſted, rather in precluding all poſſible future colliſions of ſuppoſed national intereſts, eſpecially with regard to commercial matters; and in the admiſſion of the Roman Catholics to an equitable participation, with the Proteſtants, of all the political benefits of the conſtitution, without endangering the political power of the latter, or even affording them the ſmalleſt ground for apprehenſion, than in any other conſiderations. And yet that a legiſlative union of the two kingdoms, or ſome compact, involving a limited and occaſional acquieſcence of the legiſlature of one in the deciſions of that of the other, was requiſite, to preclude the hoſtile effects which might very poſſibly reſult from thoſe accidental colliſions; and that an incorporation of the Britiſh and Iriſh legiſlatures was neceſſary to remove thoſe groundleſs, but prevailing apprehenſions which operated in excluding the Roman Catholics from Parliament, and conſequently had the effect of keeping them in a perpetual and dangerous ſtate of diſcontent and irritation, were truths by which, it might reaſonably have been expected, every unbiaſſed man, after due reflection, would be ſufficiently governed.

In oppoſing, or ſupporting ſuch a meaſure, a man, who had the welfare of his country, and alſo that of the empire at heart, would naturally have been

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been governed entirely by his perception of the benefits or inconvenience likely to accrue from the different articles propoſed as conſtituent parts thereof. If theſe articles did not appear equally beneficial to both of the contracting countries; if they were not ſtrictly ſuited to the reſpective circumſtances of each; if they were not ſuſceptible of ſuch modifications as future variations of theſe circumſtances might require; if they appeared calculated to create, or continue diſſatisfaction in either country; if they were not ſuch as to inſure the permanence of the contract, the diſſolution whereof might occaſion much more extenſive and ſerious miſchiefs than thoſe which the projectors of it aimed at precluding, the duty of every true Iriſh patriot, and of every ſincere advocate for the welfare of the empire, certainly required him to oppoſe it. On the contrary, if theſe articles were evidently calculated to diffuſe future general ſatisfaction by ſecuring, under all changes and emergencies, an equitable participation of commercial and political benefits to the people of both countries, true patriotiſm unqueſtionably required the ſacrifice of that ridiculous national pride which was to be outraged by a ſurrender of legiſlative independence.

Inſtead of patiently and prudently diſcuſſing the propoſed contract, with reference to its conſtituent ſtipulations, which poſitively was the only method whereby its real eligibility could be aſcertained; the Iriſh Houſe of Commons prepoſterouſly entered, in the firſt ſtage of the buſineſs, into violent and declamatory debates on the meaſure in the abſtract; and ſuffered themſelves to be governed more by national pride, individual intereſt, and ſpeculative political notions, than by conſiderations of national benefit. The conſequence of which was, that the miniſter, having obtained a majority in favour of the meaſure, in the abſtract, found it eventually, an eaſy matter to ſecure a ſufficient concurrence in its ſeveral articles: for thoſe who had been ſwayed to ſupport it at large, and had pledged themſelves to do ſo, would have been guilty of unuſual tergiverſation by reſiſting it in detail. Had the aſſent of Parliament been ſuſpended, until the different articles of the contract were thoroughly inveſtigated, in all their bearings and effects; had each article been made the ſubject of a ſeparate debate; it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the union might have been rendered much more advantageous to Ireland; and, in the end, more beneficial

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beneficial to the empire. For, ſooner than have his long meditated and indeed expedient project defeated, the miniſter of Britain would probably have conceded much to the deſires of the Iriſh Parliament, as he had before done to the Britiſh oppoſition, in the caſe of the commercial propoſitions. To the impatience and precipitancy therefore of the Parliament of Ireland, which the miniſter ought, in prudence, rather to have reſtrained than encouraged, we muſt impute the defects of the act of Union, and the probable future diſſatisfaction of the Iriſh, conſequent thereon. Theſe defects, are certainly neither few nor inconſiderable.

Firſt, conſiſtently with the principles of equity, Britain ought to have given ſome, appropriate advantages to Ireland, in compenſation for thoſe which the latter unqueſtionably derived from the locality of her Legiſlature. Secondly, the commercial arrangement between the two countries ought to have been regulated by the conſideration, that much of the wealth acquired in Ireland would neceſſarily flow into Britain, and remain there; while none of that acquired by the latter would finally be fixed in the former. Thirdly, ſome indemnification ought to have been prepared for Ireland, for the increaſed preſſure of taxes which ſhe was about to experience, in conſequence of an addition to the number of her abſentees: for it was evident that her public revenue would ſuffer a diminution proportionate to the private revenue withdrawn; and conſequently that the burden of taxes would be augmented on that which remained, and induſtry be, in proportion, cramped; while in Britain, to which this private revenue was deſtined to flow, the contrary effects were to be expected. Fourthly, two countries, to which equal commercial advantages were intended, but in one of which manufacturing ſkill, capital, and induſtry, were raiſed to an unequalled height, and in the other, almoſt totally wanting, ought certainly not to have been placed on a level, in any particular; but due allowances made to the latter, until it had attained to an equality, or nearly to an equality with the former. The cotton manufacture of Ireland, was, in a conſiderable degree, fairly protected by the act of union; yet the import of cotton goods from Britain, can ſcarcely be ſaid to be diminiſhed. The value thereof, as appears in the return made to the Exchange committee, in 1804, on an average of ſeven years ended in 1796, was 99,943l.; and, on a average of ſeven years ended in 1803, 157,007l. On an average

rage of four years ended 5th of January 1808, it appears to have been 135,450l. * The exportation of cotton goods makes no figure in the Cuſtom-houſe books of Ireland; and yet, as we may infer from the importation of cotton-wool and yarn †, the manufacture is thriving. Thus Ireland appears to have been benefited without injury to Britain. Fifthly, there ought to have been introduced an article to enable the Roman Catholics to exerciſe that right, which thoſe who exerciſe the right of election cannot be debarred from, without political inconſiſtency, and indeed injuſtice. Had Britain and Ireland continued under diſtinct legiſlatures, there can be little doubt that they would, in proceſs of time, have obtained that right, as they did the right of election. And it certainly is not politic, by withholding it, to increaſe the number of thoſe who diſreliſh the union; and to perpetuate diſſatisfaction among a great majority of the Iriſh people. Thus much, however, may be urged in excuſe of this defect, that the introduction of the article in queſtion, after the fear and enmity of the Proteſtants had been induſtriouſly increaſed, might have proved fatal to the accompliſhment of the union; at leaſt in the only way in which its accompliſhment could be properly ſanctioned. Laſtly, the number of repreſentatives, allotted to Ireland, was by no means proportionably and equitably adjuſted to thoſe circumſtances which ought to have been reſorted to, or which were reſorted to, on the ſubject of repreſentation, by the framers of the act: an omiſſion on which it ſeems neceſſary to enlarge; as, in the event of its being remedied, the people of Ireland may entertain a much more ſanguine expectation, than they now can, of ſuch an equitable general modification of the act of union as may render it a political bleſſing of ſuperiour magnitude.

The number of repreſentatives for Ireland, ought to have been adjuſted to the population and wealth of the country conjunctively; or rather more to the former than to the latter; inaſmuch as national wealth is more likely to be increaſed, under a good government, in proportion to the number of people, than the number of people in proportion to the augmentation of wealth.

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* See table marked XI. in the Appendix. † See table marked IX. in the Appendix.

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But to aſcertain either the population or the wealth of Ireland, or to attain a competent knowledge of them, required a much more minute and comprehenſive inveſtigation than appears to have taken place.

In order to adjuſt the number of repreſentatives for Ireland to her population, recourſe appears to have been had to the returns of the hearth money collectors in the year 1791: and in order to adjuſt that number to her wealth, recourſe was had to her exports, imports, and public revenue; rejecting or overlooking her rental, which was at leaſt as fit a criterion as any of theſe.

By the returns of the hearth-money collectors, in 1791, there appeared to be 701,102 houſes in Ireland; and from thence was inferred the exiſtence of a population of four millions, in the year 1800. That population, compared with the population of Britain, as it appeared after the accurate enumeration completed in 1801, when Britain, by the way, was found to contain more people than that country had generally been previouſly ſuppoſed to contain, entitled Ireland to 202 repreſentatives.

By a return of the value of the exports of native produce and manufacture, agreeable to prices current, on an average of three years ended 25th of March 1799, Ireland was found to have exported to the amount of 5,650,853l.; and by a ſimilar return, on an average of three years ended 5th of January 1799, Britain was found to have exported to the amount of 31,272,865l. The number of repreſentatives to which Ireland ſeemed, by this compariſon, entitled, was 100. By returns of imports, on the foregoing averages, Ireland was found to have imported to the amount of 5,275,063l.; of which ſhe exported to the amount of 133,522l.; retaining, for home conſumption, to the amount of 5,141,541; and Britain was found to have imported to the amount of 42,689,108, of which ſhe exported to the amount of 11,865,029l., retaining, for home conſumption, to the amount of 30,824,079l. The number of repreſentatives indicated for Ireland, by this compariſon, was 93.

By returns of the net permanent revenues of both countries, paid into the exchequer, on an average of the years before mentioned, that of Ireland appeared to be 1,860,797l., and that of Britain 26,349,794l.; ſo that, in proportion to public revenue, Ireland could claim only 39 repreſentatives.

The number of repreſentatives to which Ireland appeared entitled, by all theſe returns, taken on an average, was 108. In allowing her therefore 100

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repreſentatives, principles of equity appeared to be ſufficiently adhered to; but, in reality, it was far otherwiſe.

For firſt, the returns of the hearth-money collectors had always been known to be conſiderably under the truth. The Inſpector General of hearth-money gave it as his decided opinion to the writer of theſe pages, that not more than one half of the houſes exempt from the hearth-tax was returned; conſequently the population contained in 112,556 houſes, amounting certainly to upwards of half-a-million, was overlooked*. Beſides, no allowance was made for the increaſe of people from the year 1791 to the year 1800, which was evidently great. The direct loſs, occaſioned by the rebellion, certainly did not exceed 20,000 ſouls; even if the number of thoſe, who voluntarily quitted their country, be added to that of thoſe who were exiled or ſlain. Moreover the population of Britain appears to have been taken at eleven millions; though it was not known to amount to that number, till after the union, and was generally ſuppoſed to be much leſs before it. Had the people of Ireland been carefully enumerated, they poſitively would have been found to exceed four millions and a half at leaſt; and conſequently Ireland might have claimed, with reference to her population, at leaſt 228 repreſentatives inſtead of 202.

Secondly, it was unfair to take the exports of a country, among whoſe exports, proviſions of different ſorts held ſo conſpicuous a place, as is the caſe with Ireland, during a period of three years, when ſhe had to ſupport an army unprecedentedly great. Had the value of the exports of the native produce and manufactures of Ireland, on an average of three years, ended in 1792, and which amounted, according to the official value†, to 5,061,913l., been taken and compared with thoſe of Britain during the ſame period, and which amounted to 15,173,202l., Ireland might, with reference to exports, have claimed 179 repreſentatives.

Thirdly, it was unfair to take the imports of Ireland, during three years,

* See the return at large, made to Parliament in March 1792, in the table marked XVII, in the Appendix.

† The writer has not ſeen an account of the current value of the articles exported, during this period. Foreign goods are included in the exports of Ireland; but their amount has always been extremely trivial; not exceeding 150,338l., on an average of the laſt five years, and not exceeding 25,931l., on an average of ten years ended in 1782. See tables marked XI, XII, in the Appendix.

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whereof one was diſtinguiſhed by rebellion, and the other two by unequalled alarm; as under ſuch circumſtances, people will certainly not purchaſe ſo largely, as during the prevalence of internal peace and exemption from apprehenſion. Had the imports of Ireland, during the period ended in 1792, and which amounted to 4,079,906l. been compared with thoſe of Britain, during the ſame period, and which amounted to 13,530,532l., deducting therefrom the foreign articles afterwards exported, Ireland would have appeared to have a claim, on this ground, to 168 repreſentatives.

Fourthly, it was perfectly unjuſtifiable to reſort to the net, inſtead of the groſs revenues of both countries, the charges on the revenue of Ireland having been much greater than thoſe on the revenue of Britain; and the expenſes of collection infinitely more ſo. The balances likewiſe in the hands of the collectors of the Iriſh revenue, have always been, beyond all compariſon, greater, in proportion, than thoſe in the hands of the collectors of the Britiſh revenue. This, even at preſent, is the caſe. The amount of the former, in the year ended 5th of laſt January, was 325,231l. 7s. 4¾d.; which, to the amount of the groſs receipt of the Iriſh revenue, was as about one to ſeventeen. The amount of the latter, in the ſame year, was 346,611l. 18s. 2½d.; which, to the amount of the groſs receipt of the Britiſh revenue, was as about one to one hundred and twenty-two. But to the revenue of Ireland, whether groſs or net, it was moſt unfair to reſort; the collection of that revenue having been ſingularly defective, as was well known*; and the national debt, demanding an increaſe of revenue, having been trivial in the

* The introduction of a bill, calculated to inſure a faithful and economical collection of the revenue, was ſuggeſted to the writer, the year before the union, by the preſent chancellor of the Iriſh exchequer; who kindly promiſed his valuable aſſiſtance in framing it. The former, however, expreſſing a wiſh that the buſineſs might be undertaken by a more competent perſon, declined it. Some time afterwards the bill was introduced by Colonel Barry, but without ſucceſs; government, no doubt, perceiving its tendency to obtain for Ireland more favourable terms than thoſe which had been reſolved on, in the event of the queſtion of union being carried.

Among many other inſtances which might be adduced to ſhew the expenſe attending the collection of the Iriſh revenue, the following one, taken from the report of a Committee which was appointed a few years before the union, is conſpicuous. Expenſes of the diſtrict of Clare and Ennis 221l., produce 141l.: expenſes of the diſtrict of Ballyraine 110ſl., produce 97ſl.: expenſes of the diſtrict of Baltimore 2,938l., produce

the year ended 25th of March 1799, in compariſon of what it was ever likely to be, and really was, even in the following year *.

It appeared by the evidence of Meſſrs. Forbes and Edwards, taken before the Committee which was appointed to inquire into the ſcarcity of proviſions in 1800, that whiſkey illegally made could be ſold for half the price of legal whiſkey; that public ſtills did more illicit work than private clandeſtine ſtills; that not more than one half of the malt duties, and not one half of the ſpirit duties were collected: and their evidences were ſubſequently confirmed by the report of the commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the fees, gratuities, &c. of public offices †. For it appeared, by that report, that no fewer than, 4,131 unlicenſed ſtills were ſeized in the year 1802 ‡. Their evidences are likewiſe further confirmed by the recent activity of the officers employed in collecting the ſpirit duties. For in conſequence of that activity, 5,704,158 gallons of ſpirits paid duty laſt year; which was nearly one million more than had ever paid duty, in a year, before; and nearly two millions more than generally did ſo; although the conſumption of ſpirits in Ireland has been greatly diminiſhed of late, in conſequence of the great increaſe of the ſpirit duties, and of a growing predilection for porter among the lower people. But the duties ariſing from malt and ſpirits have long conſtituted one of the principle branches of the Iriſh revenue. In the year ended 25th March 1800, they amounted to 852,990l., forming about one fourth of the whole revenue; and in the laſt year, they amounted to 1,563,714l., conſtituting two-ſevenths of the groſs receipt within the year.

The Iriſh national debt, and the additional revenue requiſite to pay the intereſt thereof, at the time of the union, bore by no means the ſame pro-

duce 180l.: expenſes of the diſtrict of Newport and Foxford 803l., produce 421l.: expenſes of the diſtrict of Dingle 2,325l., produce 613l. Total of expenſes 7,388l.; total of produce 2,333l. The expenſes of revenue cruiſers and barges for 10 years to 1794, was 231,565l.: the amount of ſeizures, ſame time, was 53,649l. The rate at which the Iriſh revenue was collected, from the year ended the 25th of March 1775, to the ſame month in 1794, was 14l. 18s. 11d. per centum.

* See table marked XV. in the Appendix.

† The ſalaries of the collectors, ſurveyors, comptrollers, ſearchers, cuſtomers, of 21 ports, amount to 29,424l. The ſalaries and fees of theſe different officers, in all the ports of Ireland, excluſive of Dublin, amount to 105,478l. The ſalaries of the officers in the revenue department, in Dublin, amount to 47,984l.; their fees to 44,987l.; and their emoluments to 12,786l.

‡ See table marked XIV. in the Appendix.

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portion to the wealth of Ireland, that the national debt of Britain and the intereſt thereof bore to the wealth of the latter. The revenue therefore of Ireland was, in this reſpect alſo, an unfit criterion to be reſorted to, in ſettling the future number of her repreſentatives.

The exiſting revenues of both countries, now that that of Ireland is more faithfully collected than it was, though by no means ſo faithfully as it ought; and that its debt bears a nearer proportion to that of Britain, than at the time of the union, may afford ground for a ſufficiently correct opinion with reſpect to the proper number of repreſentatives, claimable by Ireland, with reference to her revenue. The net ordinary revenue of Britain, in the laſt year, was 38,339,152l.; the net ordinary revenue of Ireland, 5,896,818l. To adjuſt the number of repreſentatives, therefore, of the latter, to the proportion of her revenue to that of the former, the number ſhould be 85, inſtead of 38, which appeared to be the juſt proportion at the time of the union.

But the rentals of the reſpective countries ought to have been reſorted to, as criterions of their wealth, equally with, or rather in preference to their public revenues, or any other criterion. Had this been the caſe, the number of repreſentatives claimable by Ireland, with reference to rental, would have been about 186: her rental then, being certainly as near 15 millions, as that of Britain was near 45.

The number of repreſentatives for Ireland, then, if fairly proportioned to population and wealth, ought to have been 150, at the leaſt, inſtead of 100; the number claimable, with reference to population, being 228; with reference to exports, 179; with reference to imports, 168; with reference to revenue, 85, and with reference to rental, 186: the average of all which is 169$\frac{1}{7}$.

But if it were deemed unbecoming to make an important and final arrangement, ſuch as the union, upon grounds of a ſpeculative nature, or any other than recent documents, the contrary of which, however, as far as the population of Ireland was conſidered, appeared to have been really the caſe, and much to the diſadvantage of Ireland; a door, at leaſt, ſhould have been left open for re-adjuſting the proportion of repreſentatives; under a well warranted perſuaſion, that if the union produced the promiſed effect, Ireland would riſe, in point of wealth, at all events, as near the level of Britain, as ſhe had ſtood before the war and rebellion.

Even

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Even though the union is as yet far from having produced the expected effect, with reference to the increaſe of wealth in Ireland, the number of Iriſh repreſentatives, if proportioned to the actual comparative exports and imports of Britain and Ireland, would be much greater than allotted in 1800. The current value of the exports of the former, in the year ended 5th of laſt January, was 40,479,865l.; and that of thoſe of the latter, 10,110,385. This would give to Ireland 133 repreſentatives, inſtead of 96. The official value of the goods imported into Britain, in the year ended 5th January 1807, was 28,840,860l.; that of the foreign and colonial goods exported, the following year, 9,395,283l.; ſo that the value of thoſe retained for home conſumption, was 19,445,577. The official value of the goods imported into Ireland, in the former year, was 5,605,964, and that of the foreign goods exported, in the latter, 150,370l.; leaving, for home conſumption, to the amount of 5,455,594l.; which would give Ireland 149 repreſentatives inſtead of 89. The average number of repreſentatives, adjuſted to the actual exports and imports of Ireland, is 141: the average number adjuſted to her exports and imports, in the three years ended in 1799, was 92, or 49 leſs.

It was poſitively affirmed, and indeed very generally expected, that, in the event of Ireland's enjoying, for twenty years, that commercial reciprocity with Britain, which was ſecured by the act of union, the national wealth of the former would approach much nearer to that of the latter than it then was. And accordingly the future United Parliament was, by that act, veſted with a diſcretionary power to augment the public contributions of Ireland, in proportion to the value of her exports, imports and conſumption of exciſeable commodities; or in proportion to her income, as eſtimated by the produce of a general tax. Surely that Parliament ought, at the ſame time, to have been veſted with a ſimilar power to augment the number of her repreſentatives in proportion to the increaſe of her wealth. And ſurely if the circumſtances of Ireland experience the improvement which was promiſed, and looked to, the preſent number of her repreſentatives, evidently unſuitable to the real circumſtances of the country, at the time of the union, can ſcarcely fail to be warrantably deemed inadequate, unfair and a grievance.

That her circumſtances will be improved, is expected and earneſtly hoped by every reflecting man, who is ſolicitous for the permanence of the union.

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union. In one important particular, they certainly will experience a change which will call for a larger number of repreſentatives. The population of Ireland is known to have increaſed with infinitely greater rapidity, ſince the revolution, than that of Britain; and there is every reaſon to preſume that it will continue to increaſe in the ſame manner; the cauſes of that increaſe ſtill operating, and with augmented energy. So that the population of Ireland may ſoon become, if it be not at preſent, half as great as that of Britain; which would fully juſtify a claim, on the part of the former, to a greater number of repreſentatives.

The contracted ſtate of the repreſentation of Ireland, and the peculiar perſonal circumſtances of her repreſentatives, have already proved diſadvantageous; may be productive of injury, and ſeem calculated to preclude many benefits which ſhe might enjoy.

In conſequence of the abolition of thoſe boroughs which firſt introduced a Burgh, a Grattan and other diſtinguiſhed ſenators into public life, the office of repreſentative has, for the moſt part, become confined to perſons whoſe hereditary incomes are ſufficient to ſuperſede a neceſſity, on their parts, of ſubmitting to inconvenience, or of qualifying themſelves for the more important and lucrative ſtations under the government. Hence it happens, that thoſe, who are uninfluenced by a ſpirit of party, ſeldom diſcharge their parliamentary duties, unleſs a journey to London be ſuggeſted by private buſineſs or pleaſure; and that thoſe, who are actuated by party conſiderations, do not diligently attend, in their places in Parliament, except on thoſe occaſions when adverſe parties are likely to put forth their utmoſt ſtrength. And hence it happens that the affairs of Ireland, which, towards the time of the union, uſually occupied its Parliament during one half of the year, are either very imperfectly diſcuſſed in an aſſembly where few have any knowledge of them; or precipitately decided on, in conſequence of a preſſure of imperial buſineſs, during the ſhort interval of a full attendance of Iriſh members.

As for the Britiſh repreſentatives, ſo conſcious are they, generally ſpeaking, of their ignorance of Iriſh affairs, and ſo little ſolicitous about them, in conſequence chiefly of that ignorance, that they ſeem to think it peculiarly irkſome to attend their diſcuſſion; and accordingly theſe affairs, except ſuch as are of a prominent party nature, are generally debated in the thinneſt houſes; or, indeed, we may ſay, left to the deciſion of a ſmall committee

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committee of the former Iriſh Houſe of Commons; perhaps not entirely free from the old propenſity to jobbing.

This inattention and this neglect, on the part of the Iriſh repreſentatives, have already occaſioned much murmuring in Ireland; and will probably be hereafter the ſubject of loud complaints.

It may be urged, that if a greater number of the cloſe boroughs had been left, Engliſhmen might be obtruded on the people of Ireland; and conſequently, the number of their real repreſentatives would not, in fact, be much greater than it is. But this might, and ought to have been provided againſt, by a clauſe in the act of union, diſenabling any perſon to repreſent an Iriſh borough, but a native of Ireland; and poſſeſſed of property to a certain amount therein. Indeed by neglecting to inſert ſuch a clauſe, the actual number of the real repreſentatives of Ireland is reduced to about ninety.

To re-enfranchiſe a large number of the diſfranchiſed boroughs would be utterly inadmiſſible. But to re-enfranchiſe ſome of them, with a more extended right of election, thoſe, for inſtance, which ſhall be found to contain more than 500 houſes *; to enable conſiderable towns, ſuch as Carrick-on-Suir, Birr, Nenagh, Skibbereen, Cove, and others which did not formerly ſend repreſentatives to Parliament, to do ſo hereafter; and to admit two repreſentatives from each of the towns which now ſend one, does not appear likely to be attended with any inconvenience; and

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* That endeavours were ſucceſsfully made, when the diſfranchiſement of the boroughs was in queſtion, to gratify ſeveral of their proprietors, who wiſhed either to retain parliamentary influence, or to clear off incumbrances, affecting their eſtates, there ſeems good reaſon to infer from a comparative view of ſeveral of the boroughs which were ſuffered to remain, and ſeveral of thoſe which were diſfranchiſed. Among others, thoſe which follow:

Not Diſfranchiſed		Houſes.	Diſfranchiſed		Houſes.
	Enniſkillen	containing, as appears by the returns of the hearth-money collectors, 367	Navan	containing	608
	Portarlington	222	Mullingar	-	642
	Carrickfergus	477	Longford	- -	588
	Dungannon	384	Tuam	-	560
		Total 1,450			Total 2,398

would

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would give Ireland, what ſhe certainly does not now enjoy, the benefit of an adequate repreſentation.

The condition of Ireland, with reſpect to internal quietude, and the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, the maintenance of the former of which, and the enjoyment of the latter, were principal objects with many who conſented to the miniſter's project, does not appear to be much improved by the union. Although Ireland has been comparatively freed from parliamentary agitators, who, by the way, never did half ſo much miſchief as the agitators out of doors, but who were deſignedly denounced as the only, or principal miſchief-makers; there happened an inſurrection, not extenſive indeed, but which excited almoſt as much alarm as the rebellion: and local diſturbances have been juſt as frequent ſince, as before the union; parliament having never had either ſufficient leiſure, or ſufficient inclination to inquire diligently into their true cauſes, and remove them. As to the bleſſings or benefits of the Britiſh conſtitution, the people of Ireland have had little experience of them; being to this day expoſed to feel, what, it muſt be owned, they have, of late, but very rarely felt, the effects of military deſpotiſm. On the 25th of March 1805, there were no fewer than 1,474 perſons confined, on ſuſpicion, in the different priſons and priſon-ſhips of Ireland. That a very conſiderable majority of theſe were deſervedly confined, can ſcarcely be doubted. But, after making due allowance for the known lenity and forbearance of the late ſucceſſive viceroys of Ireland, it may juſtly be ſuſpected that many were confined, who either did not merit confinement, or were incapable of doing any ſerious miſchief if at large.

With reference to commerce, the Iriſh people have no reaſon whatſoever to congratulate themſelves upon the union. The commercial proſperity of Ireland has very viſibly declined ſince that meaſure was carried into effect. The amount of the average annual exceſs of exports above imports, for 10 years ended 25th March 1782, was £467,419

The ſame, for 10 years ended 25th March 1792, was 608,107

The ſame, for ſeven years ended 25th March 1799, was 1,677,645

The whole amount of the balance in favour of Ireland, for twenty-ſeven years ended in 1799, was 15,498,813l.* But the balance for ſeven years

* Exports, medium of 1773-4 £2,896,895 Increaſe in 2d period per ann. £270,983
1783-4 3,167,878 3d ditto 1,688,447
1793-4 4,856,325 4th ditto 73,008
1803-4 4,929,333

ended

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ended 5th January 1806, has been againſt Ireland to the amount of 7,410,730l., or, on an average, yearly, 1,058,675l. The average annual balance in favour of Ireland for three years ended 25th March 1792, was 982,007l. The average annual balance againſt her, for the ſame period ended 5th January 1802, was 1,490,977l., making a difference of 2,472,984l., in point of accumulation of commercial wealth. This ſtatement is made according to the official value of the goods exported. If, however, a comparative view be taken of two periods, which ſeem leaſt calculated to ſubſtantiate the foregoing remark on the ſubject of the union, viz. the three years ended in 1799 and the years 1801 and 1803, and the current value be ſubſtituted for the official value of the goods exported, the reſult will ſufficiently confirm the remark: the average annual balance, in favour of Ireland, during the firſt period, being 551,809l.; and the average balance againſt her, during the ſecond, 787,799l.; making a difference of 1,339,608l.

During a period of three years, ended 25th March 1782, the average annual official value of the exports and imports of Ireland was 5,842,926l. During a period of three years ended 25th March 1792, the average annual value thereof was 9,141,819l. So that, in ten years, the exports and imports of Ireland, taken together, had increaſed, in value, 3,298,893l. But during the period of three years ended 5th of laſt January, after the lapſe of ſixteen years, their value did not exceed 11,358,267l. So that it had not increaſed more than 2,216,448l., which was 1,082,445l. leſs than in the ten preceding years*.

In point of national debt, the union appears to have been much more detrimental to Ireland. The principal funded debt of Ireland, in the year ended 25th March 1800, was 25,662,640l. But in eight years ended 5th of laſt January, it had reached 70,647,783l.† which was, nominally, within a trifle leſs than 4 millions of the amount of the public debt of Britain, on the 31ſt December 1749, after a war of nine years ‡; and 23,986,016l. more than the amount of that debt, on the 31ſt of December 1738, when Britain was, by many, ſaid to be on the brink of ruin.

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* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

† See Table marked XV. in the Appendix.

‡ Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 119.

The

The Iriſh debt was increaſed, each year, on an average, during ſeven years ended in 1800, 3,317,464l.; but, on an average, each year, during eight years ended 5th of laſt January, 5,623,142l.: being 2,305,678l. more than before the union; though the former was a period of both rebellion and war. Even during the three laſt years of the former period, one of which preceded, and the other of which followed the year of the rebellion, which induced the expenditure, in the military department, of 4,958,206l., in one year, and which, by the way, was but 285,544l. leſs than the annual amount of the army expenditure in France, at the cloſe of the American war *, the average annual increaſe of the Iriſh public debt was only 922,596l. more than in the latter period, which included a year of peace.

The clauſe in the act of union, which provides for the application of a ſurplus of the Iriſh revenue, after defraying the intereſt, ſinking fund, proportional contributions and ſeparate charges of Ireland, was, in all probability, introduced merely with the view of rendering the meaſure popular, by an illuſive proſpect of future good. At all events, the expediency of the clauſe is certainly not very likely to be evinced.

The number of abſentees has manifeſtly been much increaſed by the union.—The amount of the revenues remitted to them, according to the opinion of Mr. Puget, delivered before the exchange committee, in 1804, was then 2,000,000l.; an amount which ſeveral intelligent men are diſpoſed to conſider as actually below the truth.—And it ſeems not improbable that the reduction of the carriage-tax, in the ſeſſion of 1800, was made with the view of concealing that increaſe; for the tax, as may be ſeen in the Table marked XV. in the Appendix, was a riſing one.

If to that vaſt ſum there be added 1,517,885l. 12s. 9½d. being the actual amount of the intereſt, annuities and expenſe of management of the Iriſh public debt, payable in London, or rather, 2,187,822l. 4s. 4d., being the amount of the total annual expenſe, the future demands of Britain on Ireland, when theſe demands ſhall ceaſe to be covered, as at preſent, by a vaſt annual influx of money into the latter, in the ſhape of loans, will appear to be a ſubject eminently worthy of early and ſerious conſideration, on the part of thoſe who exerciſe the powers of government.

* Monſ. Necker on the Adminiſtration of the Finances of France.

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Upon the whole, the union, which certainly might have been, and, indeed, ſtill may be rendered extremely beneficial to Ireland, conſiſtently with the welfare of Britain, and the expediency of which the writer is by no means prepared to queſtion, cannot poſſibly be fairly conſidered, by its moſt ſanguine advocates, as having hitherto afforded matter of congratulation to the people of Ireland.

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SECTION V.

Pecuniary Demands of Britain on Ireland.

THE principal pecuniary demands of Britain on Ireland, conſiſting of the revenues and intereſt payable to Iriſh abſentees and Britiſh public creditors, and which are actually covered and rendered inefficient by ſucceſſive annual loans, are very different, as well in effect as nature. The former can never prove, in any conſiderable degree, detrimental to Ireland: the latter muſt prove extremely ſo, at leaſt for ſome time, unleſs the proper ſteps be taken to preclude or counteract its effects.

In the hands of thoſe from whom the revenues of abſentees are drawn, an equivalent, or more than an equivalent is left. The land yields to the tenant, in Ireland, a profit as great, or perhaps three or four times as great as the rent paid to the landlord in England: and the money lent to the mortgager in the former, may have been employed to augment his revenue much more than the intereſt thereof, payable to the mortgagee in the latter, can augment his. But for the intereſt payable to Britiſh public creditors the people of Ireland have received little or no compenſation. The money which has been annually borrowed has been expended chiefly in the maintenance of a vaſt military eſtabliſhment. This expenditure has, no doubt, acted as an additional ſtimulus to the agriculture and internal traffic of Ireland; but the effects produced thereby have been very inconſiderable. Beſides, large portions of it have been ultimately employed in purchaſing an additional quantity of foreign goods for home-conſumption: and the value of the imports of Ireland has, in conſequence, of late years, contrary to what was almoſt uniformly the caſe before, exceeded the value of her exports *.

Had the money expended by Ireland, for military purpoſes, ſince the 25th of March 1798, viz. 40,504,350l., or had the debt created ſince the

* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

5th

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5th of January 1801, viz. 38,697,127l. * been employed in the encouragement of tillage, or the improvement of waſte land, Ireland would be an annual gainer to an immenſe amount, though ſhe were obliged to pay three times the intereſt which ſhe now does.

The abſentees, in the event of a high rate of exchange, muſt experience a proportionate defalcation of their revenues. The Britiſh public creditors muſt be paid the full amount of their intereſt, whatever may be the rate of exchange.

The remittances to both, will neceſſarily hereafter induce an increaſed exportation of goods from Ireland; and thus give additional employment to the induſtrious. But for the goods exported, under the preſſure of intereſt payable to public creditors, there will be no return whatever.

In fact, the remittances to Britiſh public creditors are tantamount to a vaſt ſubſidy annually paid by Ireland to Britain; or they are, in effect, the ſame as a very conſiderable foreign expenditure occaſioned by the proſecution of a war.

The annual expenſe (according to eſtimates preſented to the Iriſh Parliament, ſhortly before the union) of a regiment of cavalry, conſiſting of 684 men, being 34,752l. 4s. 5d.; and that of a regiment of infantry, conſiſting of 730 men, 23,560l. 10s. 5d.; an army of 25,428 men, 4,988 being cavalry, and 20,440 infantry, would coſt only 902,960l. 10s. 7d. annually. The annual remittances on account of intereſt, &c. on the public debt, due in London, would, if uncovered by loans, actually exceed 2,000,000l.: and therefore, would ſuffice for the conſtant maintenance of an army of 25,428 men, after allowing upwards of a million ſterling for ordnance, general officers, &c. The total ſum annually applied by England towards carrying on the war, which ended with the peace of Rhyſwick, was only 3,393,634l.

It is to be obſerved too, that in addition to the arguments againſt exceſſive national debts, grounded on their hurtful tendency with reference to the induſtrious part of the community, it may be urged againſt the debt occaſioning the vaſt remittance in queſtion, that in other countries, but eſpecially in Britain, the intereſt of the public debt is, for the moſt part, paid to reſidents; who, by the expenditure thereof, contribute largely to

* See Table, marked XV. in the Appendix.

the

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the revenue of the ſtate; and by ſo doing, increaſe its ability to pay the intereſt: but that the principal public creditors of Ireland, not being reſident therein, pay nothing towards defraying its national expenſes.

The neceſſity of augmenting the burdens of the Iriſh people, in proportion to the aggregate of the incomes withdrawn from circulation, is perhaps the only ſolid ground of regret, afforded by the abſence of wealthy landlords and others, at leaſt in a financial or commercial point of view.

The vaſt remittances in queſtion, and which will exceed four millions ſterling, on the whole, cannot, it is evident, be made in ſpecie. The circulating coin of Ireland, never amounted to ſix millions*: and conſequently, if it ſtill exiſted in the country, would be inſufficient to pay more than the amount due in three half years. They muſt, and naturally would be made by bills of exchange, and the furniſhers of theſe bills muſt, for the payment of the acceptors, create adequate funds in Britain, by a ſuitable exceſs of exported, above imported goods. Ireland will thus appear to have, what is called, the balance of trade immenſely in her favour. But her accumulation of wealth will, by no means, be either commenſurate or correſpondent with that balance.

The difference between the trade which Ireland muſt drive, when theſe remittances ſhall be no longer covered by annual loans, and the trade which ſhe drove before the union, and which yielded to her a balance of 1,371,381l., in the year ended 25th March 1798, is this. The latter conſiſted in the exportation of the ſurplus produce of land and labour, which, if retained at home, would have loſt its value, and thereby repreſſed productive induſtry; but being exported to markets where it was in demand, was diſpoſed of for a greater price than the reſidue bore at home; and, of courſe, occaſioned an influx of money, or its equivalent, into Ireland, tending annually to enrich the nation, by its effects in improving the country, encouraging its internal traffick, and opening additional ſources of wealth. The former will conſiſt in the forced exportation of the produce of land and labour: an exportation, which, for ſome time at leaſt, muſt raiſe the various prices of that produce, far beyond their due level, on the conſumers at home: and which cannot occaſion a proportionate increaſe of

* Evidence given before the Exchange Committee 1804.

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wealth ; inaſmuch as it will not be productive of ſuitable returns. The merchant, the manufacturer, and the farmer will gain ; but their reſpective gains will be countervailed by the neceſſarily increaſed prices of all imported and home produced goods ; unleſs, indeed, the exportation of the latter be, by ſeaſonable meaſures, confined, as may be ſaid to be the caſe at preſent, to two or three articles. If it be not, a general riſe of prices muſt take place, as merchants will diligently ſeek for thoſe articles which may be exported with the greateſt profit ; and, by thus extending or generalizing their demands, eventually raiſe the prices of all commodities : an event which, in effect, is the ſame as a depreciation of money. The rental of Ireland, ariſing from land and houſes, and which at preſent probably amounts, in the whole, to fifteen millions, after deducting the remittances to abſentees, will, in this caſe, be gradually leſſened in value, though it may gradually be nominally augmented.

It is to be obſerved alſo, that the commercial gains of Ireland are, in proportion, greatly inferiour to thoſe of other countries, eſpecially Britain ; three-fourths of the Iriſh trade being carried on by Britiſh merchants, and ſeven-eighths of the ſhippping employed therein, belonging to Britons and foreigners *. Suppoſing the current value, at home, of the goods exported from Ireland, to be ten millions ſterling, the profit of the exporting merchants 10l. per cent., the number of tons of ſhipping employed in the export trade 800,000, and the average price of freight 1l. 10s. per ton ; the ordinary profits of Iriſh merchants and ſhip-owners, would amount to no more than 400,000l., while thoſe of Britiſh merchants, in the trade of Ireland, and Britiſh and foreign ſhip-owners would amount to 1,800,000l.

If the average annual value of the goods, actually exported from Ireland, exceeded that of the goods imported, by four millions ſterling, the future demands of Britain on Ireland, amounting to that ſum, would be attended with comparatively little inconvenience to the latter. But the fact is, that, with the exception of the year ended 5th January 1803, when Ireland enjoyed a favourable balance of trade, amounting to 917,299l. or

* Amount of the tonnage of the ſhips which cleared outwards in the ſeveral ports of Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1808.

Iriſh.	*Britiſh.*	*Foreign.*	*Total.*
92,856	615,702	72,662	781,220

rather

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rather to 1,816,814, as the intelligent Mr. Marſhall * proved to the ſatisfaction of the exchange committee, by an acute and able inveſtigation of the true principles of trade, the balance of trade has been unfavourable to her ſince the union, while the balance of general debt has been the contrary. The value of her imports has greatly exceeded that of her exports. This, it is true, has been the effect of her increaſed ability to purchaſe, occaſioned by a vaſt annual influx of money, in the ſhape of loans. But were theſe loans to ceaſe to-morrow, the demands of Ireland would not be greatly retrenched; nor, by the way, could they be retrenched at all without injury to Britain. A favourable balance, therefore, to the amount in queſtion, could not be obtained without a vaſt increaſe of exportation. And here it is proper to obſerve, that by far the greateſt part of the commercial dealings of Ireland has been, and is with Britain and her colonies; and that almoſt the whole of the foreign commercial buſineſs of the former is tranſacted through Britiſh merchants. The annual current value of the goods exported from Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 25th March 1799, was 5,141,541l.: the value of the goods exported to Britain, and included therein, was 4,090,625l. The official annual value of the goods imported into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1808, was 5,993,362l. The value of the articles alone, which are mentioned below†, imported from Britain and her colonies, and included therein, was 3,607,075.

An ability, on the part of Ireland, to anſwer the future pecuniary demands of Britain, may be created, partly by a diminution of imports, and partly by an augmentation of exports, or ſolely by the latter. It cannot be created ſolely by the former; there being ſeveral articles, of the nature of neceſſaries and raw materials, ſuch, for inſtance, as coal and cotton wool, and which two articles alone coſt Ireland little ſhort of a million annually ‡, which ſhe muſt continue to import in as great, or perhaps greater, quantities than ever.

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* Inſpector-general of Exports and Imports.

† Blankets, Carpets, Coal, Cotton, Drapery, Earthenware, Groceries, Haberdaſhery, Hats, Hops, Hoſiery, Iron and Hardware, Silk, Cotton-wool and Yarn.

‡ See tables marked IX. and XI. in the Appendix.

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Theſe demands, unleſs previouſly provided for, muſt be accompanied by a high rate of exchange againſt Ireland; and this high rate muſt obviouſly operate as a duty on imports, and a bounty on exports. Operating as a duty on imported manufactures, it cannot fail to prove detrimental to Britain. The prices of the different Britiſh manufactures, ſuch as the woollen, the earthenware, the hardware, the hoſiery, the haberdaſhery, hats, coaches, watches and watch movements, &c. which Ireland now annually purchaſes, to a vaſt amount, will be ſo raiſed as to induce the Iriſh to betake themſelves, with unuſual aſſiduity, to theſe manufactures. Operating thus, it will have nearly the ſame effect as the non-importation agreement, which was in agitation, in Ireland, in 1783; and then ſo much dreaded by the manufacturers of Britain. Operating as a duty on importation, it will alſo be diſadvantageous to Ireland. Manufacturing induſtry may be thereby greatly ſtimulated. But the increaſed prices of coal, cotton-wool, flax-ſeed, aſhes, bark, hops, timber, ſalt, ſugar, tea, tobacco, &c. the diminution, occaſioned by a general riſe of prices, of the actual ability of eſtated gentlemen, and other wealthy people, not engaged in trade, to improve the country, give employment to the poor, and promote internal traffick, and the reduction of the revenue ariſing from duties on imported goods, inducing the neceſſity of a proportionate augmentation of the duties of exciſe, will effectually counteract, at leaſt for ſome time, whatever benefits may accrue from the encouragement of manufacturing induſtry.

Operating as a bounty on the exportation of manufactures from Ireland, and, at the ſame time, as a duty on the importation of them, this high rate of exchange threatens to be eminently hurtful to Britain *. An ample bounty on the exportation of cotton and woollen manufactures, for inſtance, from Ireland to Britain, accompanied by a heavy duty on their importation from the latter into the former, might, in the end, notwithſtanding Britiſh ſkill and capital, have the effect of transferring, in a

* The Earl of Lauderdale appears to have been aware of the injury likely to be ſuſtained, by Britiſh manufacturers, in conſequence of the nature of the approaching pecuniary tranſactions between the ſiſter iſlands.

See his Lordſhip's Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain.

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great degree, from Britain to Ireland, theſe valuable manufactures, the ſurplus produce whereof is actually, one year with another, worth twenty millions ſterling *. The wool, uſed in the ſuperfine cloths, may be imported, and worked up as cheaply in Ireland as in England. This is the caſe, in a ſtill greater degree, with regard to the raw material of the cotton manufacture. Capitals would probably not be wanting. Many of the intelligent and enterpriſing maſter manufacturers of Britain would doubtleſs conſider it as more conducive to their intereſt to remove, with their capitals, to Ireland, from whence they could export their manufactures to the greateſt advantage; than to remain in Britain, and ſtruggle againſt a vaſt influx of cheapened manufactures from the former. The teeming northern counties of Ireland would ſupply a multitude of weavers for the cotton manufactures; and it is allowed, that the beſt cotton weavers are thoſe who have been originally employed in the weaving of linen. The printed cottons of Ireland have already been preferred to thoſe of Britain. Should this removal of ſkill and capital ever take place, to any conſiderable extent, which, under the poſſible circumſtances alluded to, is by no means improbable, the ſeat of the woollen, in a great degree, and that of the cotton, perhaps entirely, might certainly be finally transferred from Britain to Ireland; eſpecially as the ſituation of the latter, with reference to trade with the weſtern world, which now promiſes to open a vaſt and lucrative market, particularly for the manufactures of Mancheſter, is greatly ſuperiour to that of the former †.

Upon the whole, therefore, it ſeems adviſable, with a view to the welfare of the empire at large, to endeavour to preclude the poſſible

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* Official value of the cotton and woollen manufactures exported from Great Britain in the three years ended 5th January 1808:

Years.	Cotton.	Woollen.
1806 - -	£ 8,771,271 - -	£ 6,005,540
1807 - -	9,896,166 -	6,247,727
1808 - -	9,867,448 - -	5,372,089

The official value is generally about 40 per cent. below the real value.

† Mr. Janſon ſays that 14,000 people emigrated from Ireland to America, in the year 1801, in Philadelphia ſhips alone; and computes that other ſhips brought acroſs the Atlantic as many more in that year. He thinks they muſt have brought with them 588,000l. "*Stranger in America*, page 452." Theſe emigrations were chiefly from the north.

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effects which may enſue from the future demands of Britain on Ireland. And to preclude theſe effects completely; to enable Ireland to anſwer fully the demands of Britain, without inconvenience; to confine the future increaſed induſtry of the Iriſh chiefly to one purſuit, noways interfering with, or obſtructing the purſuits of Britiſh induſtry, but eminently advantageous in its effects, both to Britain and Ireland, ſeems extremely practicable, if recourſe be ſeaſonably had to proper meaſures.

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SECTION VI.

Expediency of improving and extending the Tillage of Ireland.

IF the reſpective circumſtances of Britain and Ireland be conſidered, the intereſts of both will be clearly perceived to require, that the future annual payments of the latter be principally made from funds created, in the former, by an increaſed exportation of corn. The ſuperiour advantages of this expedient, in a general point of view, are obvious; and will appear very conſiderable, when viewed in contraſt with the general diſadvantages likely to reſult from a forced exportation of Iriſh manufactures, and an enhancement of the prices of goods imported into Ireland. The diſadvantages of the former expedient, if indeed it be attended with any, are not eaſily diſcoverable.

The commercial opulence of Britain is derived chiefly from the ſale of her ſurplus manufactures, the ſale of her colonial produce, that of foreign merchandize, and the employment of her ſhips. She has long ceaſed to draw riches from other countries by the ſale of redundant corn. Her ſtrength, as a belligerent nation, depends principally on her navy. Her intereſt, therefore, as a commercial and belligerent nation, evidently points, in a ſpecial manner, to the preſervation and extenſion of her markets for home manufactures, colonial produce, and foreign merchandize; and to the increaſe of her ſhipping. Hitherto the agriculture of Britain has proſpered exceedingly, and there is abundant reaſon to expect that the extent of the home demand for its produce, ſo long as her preſent commercial proſperity ſhall continue, will be ſuch as to enſure ample profits to her farmers, notwithſtanding a vaſt importation of corn from other countries. The corn grown in Britain is actually inadequate to the increaſing demands of an increaſing number of home conſumers; although the tillage of Britain has been improved, and greatly extended of late. A vaſt ſupply is ſtill annually required; and a vaſt portion of the wealth, obtained by foreign commerce, is annually employed in purchaſing that ſupply. During five years, ended in 1794, the average annual exceſs of corn imported into Britain,

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Britain, above that which was exported, was 1,145,584 quarters. During five years, ended in 1799, the annual average was 1,191,131 quarters. In the year 1800, the quantity imported, above that which was exported, was 2,259,379 quarters *. The average price of wheat, in the firſt period, was 2l. 7s. 2d. the quarter, in the ſecond 3l. 3s. 5½d., and in the third 5l. 13s. 4d. In conſequence chiefly of an extenſion of tillage, the import has, of late years, been ſomewhat diminiſhed. Still, however, on an average of the five laſt years, it appears to have amounted to 770,000 quarters, excluſive of the corn imported from Ireland †.

On the other hand, Ireland, with a rapidly increaſing population, exports an increaſing quantity of corn ‡; and might be rendered capable of ſupplying the utmoſt poſſible demands of Britain. Her chief commercial wealth ariſes from the ſale of the redundant produce of her land, and that of a ſingle manufacture, the linen §. The money which might be expended by Britain, in Ireland, for the purchaſe of corn, if there were no balance to be annually paid by the latter to the former, would be much more advantageouſly expended there, than in other countries; as it would ſoon flow back to Britain, through various channels, after fructifying the land of Ireland. But as Ireland will have vaſt annual payments to make to Britain; and theſe payments muſt be made either by means of an increaſed exportation of manufactures, or an increaſed exportation of the produce of land; as the manufactures of Britain would be greatly injured by having their markets, whether home or foreign, glutted by the cheapened fabricks of Ireland; and as there exiſts, and is likely to exiſt, a great void in the Britiſh corn-market, which muſt be ſupplied from ſome quarter or other; it ſeems eminently conducive to the welfare of Britain that the tillage of Ireland be ſeaſonably improved and extended, in ſuch a manner as may enable her corn to protrude that of other countries from the Britiſh market.

There are other conſiderations alſo, ſufficiently important to excite, in Britain, a ſolicitude for the improvement and extenſion of tillage in Ireland. In proportion as the tillage of Ireland is improved and extended, the wealth and number of thoſe engaged therein will neceſſarily be augmented;

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* Mr. Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 322.
† Report of committee on diſtilleries.
‡ See Table marked IV. in the Appendix.
§ See Table marked X. in the Appendix.

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and of courſe the demands for Britiſh manufactures and colonial produce be enlarged. On the contrary, if the Iriſh be allured, from the purſuit of tillage, to that of manufactures, by the operation of the virtual bounties and duties before noticed, not only will their demands for Britiſh manufactures be greatly leſſened; but they will probably become formidable competitors with the manufacturers of Britain. The ſhipping intereſt of Britain may be greatly promoted by an increaſed exportation of corn from Ireland. It can be but little ſerved by an increaſed exportation of manufactures. To pay a balance of 4 millions ſterling in linen, for inſtance, would require 40 millions of yards at 2s. per yard; and to convey it would require only 5,952 tons of ſhipping, and about 356 ſeamen. But to pay that balance in corn would require 3,200,000 barrels, at 1l. 5s. on an average each barrel, and to convey that number would require, allowing $9\frac{3}{7}$ barrels to the ton, 333,333 tons of ſhipping, and near 20,000 ſeamen. To convey the amount of that great balance, in other manufactures, would require, no doubt, a much greater number of tons of ſhipping than would be required to convey 40 millions of yards of linen. But there is no manufacture, likely to be eſtabliſhed in Ireland, which would require, for its conveyance, half, or even one-third of the number of tons of ſhipping that would be requiſite for the conveyance of corn.

As for the landed intereſt of Britain, it could not poſſibly ſuſtain any injury by an increaſed exportation of corn from Ireland; ſo long as that exportation merely ſufficed to fill up the actual void in the Britiſh corn-market. And if ever the produce of ſurplus corn, in Ireland, became ſo great as to exceed the ſupply required by Britain, the landed intereſt of the former would be as deeply concerned in ſecuring for it a profitable vent in other countries, by means of bounties, as that of the latter could be in reſiſting its entrance into the Britiſh market, when likely, by its ſuperabundance to occaſion an abatement of the profits of farmers. An abatement of profit would be much more injurious to the farmers of Ireland than to thoſe of Britain. Moſt of the latter could bear it: many of the former would be rendered inſolvent by it.

Of the land of Ireland, there are probably above two millions of acres employed in the culture of grain *. Of theſe, it may be aſſumed that one-fourth

* Including about 800,000 acres of potatoes, and 155,000 of flax, the number of acres of land under tillage in Ireland may ſomewhat exceed three millions. The wheat conſumed

fourth either belongs, in fee-ſimple, to the occupiers ; or is held by them under leaſes for lives or for long terms of years, and granted many years ago ; that one-fourth is held under ſhort leaſes granted from fifteen to twenty years ago, and of which, one leaſe with another, ten years are ſtill unexpired ; that one-fourth is held under leaſes granted at an earlier period, and of which five years are unexpired ; and that the remaining fourth part has been let ſhortly before, or ſhortly after, the commencement of the preſent century. Now if the prices of the different ſorts of grain, one with another, have riſen eight ſhillings the barrel ſince the different years, one with another, at which the leaſes of the ſecond and third claſſes have been granted, and which has been confeſſedly the caſe, the occupiers of the land are enjoying a profit, after deducting four ſhillings per acre for increaſed wages of labourers, of 40 ſhillings per acre more than they did when their occupancy began †. Conſequently an increaſed profit, amounting to two millions ſterling, is annually accruing to the tillage farmers of Ireland, in addition to the gains of the firſt and fourth claſſes. And perhaps, by the way, this may be the true cauſe to which the preſent tranquillity of the country is owing ; for it muſt be confeſſed that there has exiſted ſome ground for diſſatisfaction.

To ſecure their ſhare of this profit to one half of the tillage farmers of Ireland, muſt needs be an object of concern with their landlords ; and to prevent a diminution of the gains of the fourth claſs, muſt needs be a matter of peculiar ſolicitude to them.

If the preſent nowiſe inconvenient prices be kept up, or nearly ſo, for ten years longer, a capital of fifteen millions ſterling, deſtined to be, for the moſt part, employed in agriculture, or ſome ſort of rural melioration, may be amaſſed ‡. But if theſe prices be not kept up, the farmers for

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ſumed in Dublin, Cork, and other towns may require 150,000 acres ; the wheat and oatmeal conſumed in other parts 650,000 ; the horſes employed in huſbandry, by carriers and others, 450,000 : pleaſure horſes, poſt horſes, horſes belonging to the army 160,000 : ale, beer, ſpirits, and corn for exportation 340,000 : ſeed, fallow, &c. &c. 430,000 acres. The number of acres ſown with flax ſeed, in the year 1806, according to the return of Mr. Duffin, was 96,064½ Iriſh meaſure ; equal to 155,607 Engliſh meaſure.

† See riſe of land in tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

‡ About 30 years ago, Mr Young computed that it would require one hundred millions ſterling to put Ireland on a level with England in point of agricultural improvement.

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the moſt part, will probably be thrown into a dangerous ſtate of deſpondency; the wages of labour may be leſſened; and one-fourth of the farmers, or thoſe who took leaſes within the laſt eight or ten years, and who were governed, in their offers, by the exiſting prices, will aſſuredly become bankrupt, to the no ſmall injury of their landlords. As for the graziers, the value of their land will always be commenſurate with that of the land in tillage.

To Ireland, an increaſed exportation of corn would be infinitely more advantageous than a forced exportation of manufactures. The latter, attended by a virtual duty on importation, would have the effect, as before obſerved, of raiſing the price of almoſt every article on the conſumers at home. The former, being the reſult of an improvement and extenſion of tillage, could have no ſuch effect. By this improvement and extenſion, corn not being the prevailing food of the lower orders in Ireland, a vaſt ſurplus or maſs of diſpoſable wealth might be created; and which would go very far towards precluding, or perhaps might completely preclude every poſſible miſchief which may be apprehended to enſue from the future pecuniary demands of Britain.

The Britiſh capitals, employed in Ireland, in manufactures, in the event of a forced exportation thereof, would, no doubt, give very conſiderable employment to the labouring poor; but an extenſion of tillage would ultimately give more; and Britiſh capitaliſts, when their fortunes were made in Ireland, would probably return with them to their own country.

To engage more extenſively in manufactures, with a view to export, while a vaſt portion of the land may be reclaimed with extraordinary profit *, is certainly not ſo good an expedient for acquiring great and permanent wealth, as engaging more extenſively in agriculture. An increaſed demand for food, on the part of manufacturers, would, no doubt, prove a very great ſtimulus to agriculture; but an extenſion of agriculture, beſides its peculiar good effects, would ultimately occaſion demands on the induſtrious and ingenious, much greater in proportion, than the demands of an increaſed number of manufacturers on the cultivators of the ſoil. Agriculture is certainly the cradle of manufactures; but the converſe of the propoſition does not appear true to an equal extent; though the latter are doubtleſs, in a high degree, auxiliary to the former.

* See Part 1ſt, Section 5.

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rules, its ſtrict application, in all inſtances, may be imprudent. Thus, if the induſtry of a people tend equally to manufactures and agriculture, and that the latter, in conſequence partly of external relations, appear to be, upon the whole, pregnant with greater ultimate benefit than the former, the Legiſlature ought certainly to endeavour, by adequate encouragement, to confirm that tendency; even though its concurrent tendency ſhould, in conſequence, be checked. Beſide, agriculture, if purſued with ſpirit and ſkill, eſpecially when the ſoil and circumſtances of a country are favourable thereto, as is evidently the caſe with Ireland, becomes both the cradle of manufactures, and the greateſt ſource of permanent wealth.

If the ſoil of Ireland were already as well cultivated as that of Britain; if the waſte land of the former were not infinitely better circumſtanced for being reclaimed than that of the latter, and convertible into infinitely better land; if, in Ireland, as in England, there exiſted a redundancy of capital, ready to be employed in agricultural ſpeculations; if internal communications, between all the different parts of Ireland, could not be more eaſily accompliſhed than ſuch internal communications in almoſt any other country, it would be vain to hold forth more than ordinary encouragement to agriculture. But if the land of Ireland preſent an eminently copious ſource of wealth; if that ſource has not as yet been made to yield a proportionate ſupply; and if individuals are prevented from engaging deeply in agricultural projects and improvements, through want of capital, or through a deficiency of the means of conveying the produce of their induſtry to market, it is ſurely conſonant to the duty and intereſt of government, to divert as large a portion of the public money, to the aid of agriculture, in various ways, as may be requiſite to render that purſuit productive of the wealth which it promiſes.

To that purſuit, the induſtry of the people of Ireland is already principally directed: and their ſupplies of corn to Britain will probably, in conſequence, annually increaſe. Much more encouragement, however, than the agriculture of Ireland has yet experienced is unqueſtionably requiſite to render it adequate, when the time ſhall come, to ſupply the wants of Britain; and furniſh a ſurplus ſufficient, by its ſale in other countries, to meet her future pecuniary demands: and it is fortunate that the circumſtances of the latter are well calculated to render ſuch encouragement efficient.

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SECTION VII.

Means whereby the Agriculture of Ireland may be extended and improved.

THE late and preſent high prices of all ſorts of corn, and the proſpect of their continuance, may probably be deemed ſufficent encouragement to the agriculture of Ireland. It has, no doubt, been very conſiderably extended, in conſequence chiefly of theſe circumſtnces; and will probably be much more ſo, even without any other encouragement. In ſeveral inſtances, the ſmall capitals collected by farmers, whoſe leaſes were granted from 15 to 20 years ago, have been employed in reclaiming unproductive land; and many country gentlemen have been induced, by a proſpect of extraordinary gain, to expend conſiderable ſums of money in the ſame way. But the agriculture of Ireland neither has been, nor is likely to be puſhed to the requiſite extent, in due ſeaſon, without much greater encouragement than it has yet received. Nor have the high prices in queſtion occaſioned, generally ſpeaking, an improvement thereof. On the contrary, in caſes where farmers have been long in poſſeſſion, unuſual gains have, in general, ſerved to damp that ſpirit of improvement which, with the aid of ſufficient capital, would be invigorated by a nearer approach of rent to the value of produce.

An unprecedently great demand for exportable commodities, neceſſarily accompanied by a proportionate riſe of price, operating as a moſt liberal bounty on their exportation, may ſeem ſufficiently calculated to occaſion the requiſite extenſion of the agriculture of Ireland; and ſuch effect may reaſonably be expected. But it is to be obſerved, firſt, that the expected demand, with its attendant enhancement of price, affecting all exportable articles alike, and thereby counterbalancing the benefits accruing to the different individuals employed in furniſhing the different commodities for exportation, is the very evil which it is ſought to preclude, by increaſing the ſurplus produce of the Iriſh ſoil. And, ſecondly, that although the induſtry of Ireland tend much more to agriculture, than to other purſuits, it may juſtly be apprehended, that the expected increaſe of demand would ſerve to divert much of that capital into other channels which,

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which, by the ſeaſonable adoption of adequate expedients, might be confined to the land alone; where its employment would be more beneficial to Ireland; and infinitely leſs injurious, or rather not injurious at all, but advantageous to Britain.

To confine the induſtry and capital of Ireland ſeaſonably to agriculture, and to prepare her effectually for anſwering the future demands of Britain, without the intervention of a ſeaſon of difficulty, diſtreſs, and deſpondency, and without ſuch changes in the nature of the commercial dealings of either country, as might poſſibly be, upon the whole, detrimental to both, the exiſting demand for corn, on the part of Britain, however great, aided, if indeed it be ſo, by the premiums actually granted for the encouragement of tillage in Ireland, are utterly inſufficient. Recourſe muſt be had to expedients infinitely more munificent than the latter, and obviouſly better ſuited to the purpoſe than the former. In truth, the ſums expended for the encouragement of agriculture, by the ſocieties which profeſs to aim thereat, are paltry in the extreme. To expend leſs than two thouſand pounds a year, in the encouragement of tha branch of induſtry, which might be made to add millions annually to the wealth of the nation, after amply reimburſing the public treaſury for the utmoſt expenditure that ſuch encouragement could occaſion, is a ſpecies of economy which no financial exigencies, however great, can juſtify*.

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* The expenditure of the Dublin ſociety, in 1792, under the head of agriculture, and planting was 4,285l. 6s. 4½d. In the year ended 5th January 1804, the expenditure under that head, according to the 31ſt Report of the Commiſſioners of Account, was only 46l. 8s. 11½d., while the expenditure for officer's ſalaries and allowances, was 2,270l. 7s., and that for new buildings 3,100l. According to the 32d Report of the Commiſſioners, the expenditure of that ſociety, under the head of agriculture and planting, in the year ended 5th January 1805, was 269l. 13s. 8d., and in the following year 528l. 9s. 6d. According to the 31ſt, 32d, and 33d Reports of the Commiſſioners, the expenditure of the farming, or rather cattle ſociety, under the head of agriculture and live ſtock, is as follows: viz.

In the year ended	5th January	1804.	£1,376	15	8
Do.	Do.	1805.	1,464	8	6
Do.	Do.	1806.	1,444	14	3

What paltry, contemptible, inefficacious ſums, even if the whole were applied to the encouragement of tillage; but how ſuperlatively ſo muſt they appear, after deducting from them the money diſtributed in premiums, among noblemen, gentlemen and wealthy graziers?

To

To increaſe the public debt of Ireland one million a year, during four ſucceſſive years, for the two-fold purpoſe of encouraging agriculture and perfecting inland navigation, would have twenty, or a hundred times greater ultimate effect in liquidating that debt, or which is equivalent thereto, in leſſening its preſſure, than the beſt ſinking fund that ever was deviſed. To the corn bounties of 1783-4, much more than to any other cauſe, is to be aſcribed the actual ability of Ireland to bear a debt of ſeventy millions, with much greater eaſe, than ſhe bore a debt of two millions in 1783. The practice of the utmoſt œconomy, which is not even mentioned now, was univerſally admitted to be requiſite then. It is ſurely much better that Ireland, on cloſing the war accounts, ſhould owe a debt of between 93 and 94 millions than a debt of 90 millions, if, by the addition of three or four millions, her land were rendered capable of producing an additional annual ſurplus of the value of at leaſt three millions ſterling. Might it not be expected that, in ſuch caſe, the increaſe of her duties of exciſe alone would be much more than ſufficient to defray the intereſt of the additional three or four millions of debt incurred?

That a judicious expenditure of much leſs than a million annually, for four years, in promoting agriculture, and inland navigation, would occaſion a permanent addition of conſiderably more than three millions to the aggregate incomes of the people of Ireland, there ſeems not ſufficient reaſon to doubt. And poſſibly the mode of diſtributing that ſum, which the writer is about to ſuggeſt, may be found ſuſceptible of ſuch improvement in detail as might render it not ineligible.

It has been affirmed by perſons, converſant in the buſineſs of internal navigation, that three millions, ſkilfully and faithfully expended, would give Ireland all the benefits thereof. One million, therefore, of the public money, combined with two millions of private money, with which, to inſure a faithful expenditure, it muſt be combined, would ſuffice for that purpoſe: and the completion of the inland navigation of Ireland would alone occaſion an immenſe increaſe of its wealth; as thoſe who have looked around them, when travelling from Dublin to Banagher, will readily believe. There will then remain for the encouragement of agriculture between two and three millions: an enormous ſum, it is true, but not more than is requiſite; nor ſuch as any financer, who duly reflects on the certain

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and permanent effects of ſuch an expenditure, and looks to futurity, can grudge.

This ſum, were government ſufficiently impreſſed with the neceſſity of holding forth extraordinary encouragement to agriculture in Ireland, might be gradually employed, with the deſired effects, either in extending or in improving it; or, which ſeems preferable, partly in one way and partly in the other.

On a former occaſion*, it was computed, that the uncultivated land of Ireland compriſed 4,800,000 acres. If one-eighth part of this, conſiſting of ſuch land as, by ſituation, nature of ſoil, and abundance of natural manures, appeared moſt favourably circumſtanced for cultivation, were reclaimed, 3,600,000 average barrels of the different ſorts of grain, even with the preſent defective mode of huſbandry, might be annually obtained; and theſe, taken at 1l. 5s. on an average each, which is below the current price of late years†, would be worth 4,500,000l. One half of the expenſes of reclaiming might be granted to individual undertakers either previouſly, or ſubſequently to the completion of the work: and effectual precautions, againſt fraud, might be more eaſily taken in this caſe than in almoſt any other, in which public and private intereſt might be combined. During the commercial diſtreſs which prevailed in 1793, government did not heſitate to extend, and with the beſt effect, the moſt liberal aid to merchants: and ſurely where capital is wanting, and might be applied with ſuch vaſt effect in augmenting the wealth of the nation, as is the caſe in Ireland, government cannot, on any tenable grounds, withhold the aid propoſed. In the year 1793, Exchequer bills, to the amount of five millions ſterling, were ready to be granted to the embarraſſed merchants of Britain, being 1,144,376l. above the ſum applied for. If little more than this reſidue were granted in aid of thoſe who would undertake to extend the cultivation of the land of Ireland, the value of its exportable ſurplus of corn, would unqueſtionably be increaſed at the leaſt three millions

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* Part I. Section V. p. 63.

† Average price of wheat, barley and oats per barrel, in Dublin market

June 1806	£1	10	$3\frac{2}{3}$
Ditto January 1807	1	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$

ſterling.

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ſterling *. And if the public revenue of Ireland continue to hold that proportion to its exports, imports and rental which it now does, it would experience an increaſe of one million; or twice the ſum requiſite to pay near ſeven times the intereſt of the money advanced.

On another occaſion†, it was computed, on good grounds, that there were two millions of acres of the land of Ireland employed in the culture of corn; and it was before obſerved ‡ that, in conſequence of bad management, the land of Ireland, generally ſpeaking, yielded much leſs, inſtead of yielding, as it might, one-fourth more than the land of England. If leſs than two thirds of the land under corn were made to yield one-third more than the preſent average produce, a ſurplus of 2,400,000 average barrels, worth 3,000,000l., would be obtained. Or if one-ſixteenth part of the waſte land of Ireland were reclaimed, and one half of its corn land made to produce one-fourth more than it now does, 3,300,000 average barrels, worth more than four millions ſterling, would be added to the produce of the country.

To change the ſyſtem of huſbandry in Ireland, with reſpect to ſucceſſion of crops, would require ſome time; and be attended with ſome difficulty; but even without ſuch change, the land might be made to produce much more than it does; and its produce might be rendered much more valuable, than at preſent, by means of liberal premiums. If the ſum of ſixty pounds were granted in each pariſh, in premiums of 20l.; one to the farmer, holding under a certain number of acres, who ſhould exhibit the beſt crop of corn, of any ſort, on not leſs than four acres of the firſt claſs of land in point of natural fertility, one to the farmer who ſhould exhibit the beſt crop, on the ſame number of acres, of the ſecond claſs of land, and one to the farmer who ſhould exhibit the beſt on the third claſs of land, a degree of emulation, ſkill, and attention, not hitherto viſible, would ſoon be generally excited. The ſum annually requiſite for this purpoſe, there being 2,436 pariſhes in Ireland, would be 146,160l.: a vaſt ſum, no doubt, but the effects of the expenditure

* Much of the land reclaimed would probably become paſture land; but an equal quantity of that which is ſo at preſent might thus be brought into tillage, without a diminution of the actual exports of the ſurplus produce of paſture.

† Section VI. ‡ Part, 1ſt. Section V.

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thereof would ſoon do more than counterbalance any immediate inconvenience with which that expenditure might be attended.

A vaſt portion of the ſoil of Ireland, eſpecially in the counties of Limerick, Meath, Tipperary, the ſouthern part of the county of Clare, the northern part of that of Kerry, and a great tract of the northern part of that of Cork, ſeems particularly well adapted to the culture of lucerne, which may be deemed the moſt valuable of all the artificial graſſes; and which, on account of its ſuperiour value, is ſo generally cultivated in the richer diſtricts of France. If by ſuch liberal premiums as would effectually induce the graziers to cultivate and preſerve it, 50,000 acres of it could be obtained, upwards of 200,000 acres of paſture land might be tilled, without diminiſhing the maſs of food for cattle.

Clover, ſo carefully and univerſally cultivated in England and other countries, and which is one of the moſt common of the indigenous graſſes of Ireland, is almoſt entirely neglected by the Iriſh. There certainly are not 20,000, nor perhaps 10,000, nor even 5,000 acres ſown with it in all Ireland. If one half of that part of the tillage land which is let to lie, in an unproductive and almoſt ſterilized ſtate, for two years, and which certainly does not fall ſhort of 100,000 acres, were ſown therewith, it would be tantamount to an addition of at leaſt 200,000 acres to the paſture land of Ireland. The farmers in the ſouthern part of the county of Cork, where paſture begins to grow ſcarce, are getting annually more and more into the practice of ſowing it; and liberal premiums would ſoon make that practice general.

The chief cauſe of the Iriſh wheat being almoſt unfit for the London market is certainly the badneſs of the ſeed. To purchaſe annually, for two or three years, about 30,000 barrels of prime wheat, and ſell it to the farmers, at the medium market price, would probably ſoon render the wheat of Ireland at leaſt equal to that of England. The difference of value between the middle-priced and beſt wheat, in the Iriſh market, is certainly not leſs than five ſhillings the barrel. The introduction therefore of prime ſeed, beſides inſuring a vent for the Iriſh wheat in the London market, would be attended with vaſt profit to the farmers.

The efficacy of example being likely to prove at leaſt equal to that of the moſt liberal premiums which could be held forth for the improvement of the tillage of Ireland, it would be adviſable to eſtabliſh

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Scotch or Engliſh agricultural families in thoſe parts of the country, where they might be eaſily accommodated, and where they would be well received and protected. The inſtructions, the example, but above all, the ſucceſs of theſe people, with reſpect to premiums, would, doubtleſs, have a very powerful effect in prompting the Iriſh to farm to greater advantage than they at preſent do. The ſum now annually granted for Proteſtant charter-ſchools exceeds 22,000l. Their aggregate revenues amount to 37,000l. a year. The parliamentary grants, ſince 1745, have amounted to 561,999, and the duty on hawkers and pedlars, from that year to the year ended in 1789, to 50,277l., making together 612,276l.* And what have been their effects? 7,013 children have been apprenticed in ſixty-three years, and 818 marriage portions have been paid. If it be neceſſary to promote Proteſtantiſm in Ireland, which the writer, though a Proteſtant of the church of England, and allied to none but Proteſtants of the ſame communion, is by no means prepared to inſiſt on; ſurely it might be done much more effectually by eſtabliſhing Britiſh Proteſtant families in Ireland, than by training up to Proteſtantiſm an inconſiderable number of children, of whom one half, at leaſt, revert to the religion of their anceſtors. The ſum above mentioned would have eſtabliſhed, in a very comfortable manner, 2040 Proteſtant families, allowing 300l. for the eſtabliſhment of each; and theſe families, allowing but five ſouls in each, on an average, would have compriſed 10,200 Proteſtants, or 3,187 more than were ſent from the ſchools. The ſum granted annually, on an average of the three laſt years, for the charter-ſchools, would ſuffice to eſtabliſh, in Ireland, each year 76 Britiſh families, compriſing 380 ſouls. The remainder of the revenues of the charter-ſchools, if faithfully applied, would ſerve to maintain, and train up to Proteſtantiſm, a very conſiderable number of orphans.

The malt liquors and the ſpirits of Ireland have of late, in ſeveral places, been greatly improved. Ample premiums of from 1,000l. to 5,000l. annually given, during three or four years, for the beſt caſk of each exhibited on an appointed day, might have the effect of improving their qualities ſo highly, as to give them a degree of repute in foreign markets, which might ultimately occaſion an immenſe ſale; and thereby infinitely

* See title marked XXV. in the Appendix.

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augment that encouragement which they have already, eſpecially of late, by the increaſed quantities made, afforded to the tillage of Ireland.

The moſt munificent encouragement that could be given to the agriculture of Ireland, in the ways here propoſed, would certainly not require three millions of the public money. And the effect of that encouragement would certainly be, to enable Ireland not only to fill the actual void in the Britiſh corn-market; but to ſell, beſides, to other countries, a vaſt portion of the ſurplus produce of her land.

In the event of that void being filled up, at ſuch prices as would ſecure to the Britiſh and Iriſh farmers, their preſent gains, the intereſts of both, and thoſe of the landlords of Britain and Ireland, would require that the remaining part of the ſurplus produce of the latter, ſhould be diverted to other markets. For this purpoſe, augmented bounties on exportation would perhaps be neceſſary; ſuch bounties, at leaſt, as would ſerve to bring Iriſh corn into foreign markets, at the ſelling price therein; and without a diminution of ordinary profit to the Iriſh farmers. The corn intercourſe bill and the high prices of grain in Britain actually ſuperſede the neceſſity of bounties. But if ever the ſurplus produce of the tillage land of Ireland ſhould be rendered more than adequate to the ſupply of Britain, ample export bounties, to other countries, muſt be reſorted to.

The export bounties of 1783-4, though great and efficacious, in compariſon of thoſe which preceded them, were, in reality, inferiour to the bounties which occaſioned ſuch an active purſuit of tillage, in England, about the middle of the laſt century. In the year 1689, when theſe laſt bounties became attainable, the value of money, according to Sir G. Shuckburgh Evelyn's table*, was in the ratio of 226 to 562 in the year 1800; and conſequently 1l., in the former year, was equivalent in effect to 2l. 9s. 8¾d. in the latter.

Theſe bounties, therefore, though nominally the ſame as the Iriſh bounties, were calculated to give a greater benefit to the corn merchant, and ultimately greater encouragement to the grower of the corn. But there is another way in which they may be ſhewn to have had theſe effects. The price of the beſt, or higheſt priced wheat, at Windſor market, on an average of five years,

* Chalmers's Eſtimate, p. 223.

ended

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ended in 1691, was 1l. 19s. 11d. per quarter of nine buſhels*. On an average of 13 years ended in 1700, a period which included ſome years of comparative ſcarcity, it was 2l. 12s. 3d. The medium of theſe periods being 2l. 6s. 1d., was nearly the ſame as 1l. 3s. 0¼d. for the Iriſh barrel of 20 ſtones weight. The price of middling wheat according to an average of five years ended with 1689, as ſtated by Mr. Chalmers, was 1l. 8s. 9d. per ſtatute quarter †. The middle price of wheat, in Dublin market, (which, by the way, was well ſupplied in conſequence of the bounties on the inland carriage of corn.) taken at eighteen different periods, in the years 1783-4-5-6, was 1l. 5s. 0d. per barrel: which was alſo the average price of 15 years ended in 1773, as before noticed. Or, to ſuit the compariſon more to the Iriſh reader, the middle price of wheat in England, when the bounties took place, was, agreeable to Mr. Chalmers's ſtatement, about 10¾d. per ſtone; and the middle price in Ireland 1s. 3d. The Engliſh merchant therefore could buy corn for exportation at the rate of 7s. 11d. the Iriſh barrel, cheaper than the Iriſh merchant. On every 100l. expended in the purchaſe of corn, the former had about 17l. 7s. 6d. ariſing from the bounty; but the latter had only 13l. 6s. 8d. or 4l. 0s. 10d. per cent leſs. Beſides the Engliſh merchant could export, with the benefit of the bounty, when wheat was at 48 ſhillings the quarter, or about 1s. 5¼d. the ſtone; but the Iriſh merchant was reſtrained from exporting, when wheat exceeded 27 ſhillings the barrel, or about 1s. 4¼d. the ſtone. To increaſe the Iriſh bounties then about one-third; and to grant theſe bounties until wheat exceeded the price of 30 ſhillings the barrel and the other grains in proportion, ſeems ſufficiently warranted by precedent, and would be productive of increaſed benefit. Indeed granting this bounty when the prices of the different ſorts of grain were even much higher, would probably not be followed by any bad effects; as the merchant's profits are inverſely proportioned to the price of grain, and grain is not, in general, nor, in any conſiderable degree, the great neceſſary of life among the labouring poor of Ireland.

If the export of bounties were increaſed ſomewhat leſs than one-third, beyond thoſe of 1783-4; if they were to be 3s. per barrel, on wheat,

* From Dr. Adam Smith's Tables, vol. i. p. 265. † Eſt. p. 323.

barley,

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barley, and oats, on an average, inſtead of 2s. 1¼d; and if theſe bounties were given when wheat did not exceed 35 ſhillings the barrel, and the other grains in proportion; and if, in conſequence of an extenſion and improvement of tillage, the exportable ſurplus of corn, beyond the demands of Britain, were to amount to 1,500,000 barrels of the different ſorts of grain, the whole amount of the annual bounty would be but 225,000l.; which is conſiderably leſs than three times the amount of the bounty paid on the carriage of corn to Dublin in the year 1797*; and not much exceeding one-fourth more than the bounty annually paid, in England, on the corn exported during ten years ended in 1750. And when it is conſidered that this ſum thus expended, beſides its other good effects, would occaſion an annual addition to the pecuniary ability of Ireland amounting probably to near two millions ſterling; and at the ſame time inſure to one-half of the tillage farmers their preſent gains, amounting alſo to at leaſt two millions; it will ſurely, notwithſtanding its magnitude, be deemed conſonant to the ſtricteſt principles of economy.

Holding forth extraordinary encouragement to tillage might poſſibly have the effect of diminiſhing the paſture land actually appropriated to the fattening of cattle, and ultimately that of reducing the ſurplus produce of beef now exported. But whatever effect it might have in that way would probably be counterbalanced by an increaſed exportation of pork and butter. The pork is furniſhed by thoſe who are concerned in tillage; and as the number of the latter increaſes, ſo does the exportation of the former. Moſt of the inferiour farmers keep a cow or cows; and almoſt all of thoſe who do ſo, ſend their butter to market. An increaſe of tillage farmers, therefore, will not occaſion a decreaſe, but may occaſion an increaſe of the quantity of butter exported. The table No. VI. in the Appendix ſhews that, in the period of four years ended in 1784, when the corn bounties were granted, the number of barrels of pork annually exported was 89,118: but that the medium number exported, during the laſt two years, was 141,332: that the number of flitches of bacon exported, on an average of three years ended in 1785, was 25,025, and the number of cwts. of hams 4,306: but that the number of the former, on a medium of the two laſt years, was 262,446, and of the latter 16,023.

* See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

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The table likewiſe ſhews that the average quantity of butter exported, in the period of 1784, was 251,542 cwts.; but that the medium quantity exported, during the laſt two years, was 336,253 cwts. The quantity of beef exported has been reduced; but the number of live cattle exported has been increaſed ſo as to be exactly equivalent to the decreaſe of beef.

A great augmentation of the capital of farmers has generally the effect of occaſioning a ruinous and depopulating conſolidation of farms; which, however, has its advocates. But in Ireland, no ſuch effect is to be apprehended. The capitals of farmers have of late been annually increaſing greatly; yet the ſize of farms has annually been diminiſhing.

Owing to that avidity for land which prevails among the rural inhabitants of Ireland, and which ariſes partly, but chiefly, from the almoſt univerſal, and indeed economical cuſtom of drawing their ſupplies of food immediately from the land inſtead of the market, and partly from the diſproportion of the manufactures of Ireland to the rapid increaſe of its people, the landlords' rents have been ſo high * as not to admit of that rapid increaſe of capital which, under ſuch an influx of money to farmers, would take place in other countries. It is true that the frugal mode of living which obtains among the Iriſh farmers, countervails, in a great degree, theſe high rents; but not ſufficiently ſo to occaſion ſuch a redundancy of capital as might enable one man to undertake the buſineſs of twenty, as in Norfolk and elſewhere.

To ſum up what has been ſaid in this ſection; the benefits derivable from an extenſive and ſkilful purſuit of agriculture in Ireland, ſeaſonably encouraged, are great; attainable without difficulty, not limited to Ireland alone, but participable by England; and apparently unconnected with any miſchievous reſult.

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* See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix. "Should potatoes," ſays Adam Smith, "ever become the favourite food of the poor, population would increaſe, and rents would riſe much beyond what they are at preſent." W. N. vol. i. p. 164.

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SECTION VIII.

Political Effects of encouraging Agriculture in Ireland.— Probability of permanent Concord between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics.— Concluſion.

IT was obſerved, in a former ſection *, that the rural population in the principal tillage counties of Ireland, is chiefly Roman Catholic; and that the late encouragement of that purſuit had greatly increaſed both the amount and wealth of that population. The varied encouragement juſt propoſed, and which the circumſtances of Britain and Ireland ſeem to require, will neceſſarily, if held forth, have the effect of occaſioning a much greater acceſſion of wealth, and increaſe of number to the Roman Catholic body, than it has yet experienced; and eventually that of giving it much more importance, in the political ſcale of the empire, than it at preſent enjoys. But, whatever may be thought by thoſe who have declined to take a comprehenſive view of the ſubject, this acceſſion of wealth, at leaſt, be its effects as they may, is much more to be wiſhed for, than deprecated. For beſides being neceſſarily accompanied by a proportionate acceſſion of wealth to the Proteſtant landlords, the Proteſtant clergy, and the government, it is eminently calculated to inſure that tranquillity and harmony in Ireland, which every man, but one who has a propenſity to fiſh in troubled waters, muſt deſire; and which is ſo obviouſly requiſite to the ſtrength of the empire.

"The progreſſive ſtate," ſays Adam Smith, "is in reality the cheerful and the hearty ſtate to all the different orders of the ſociety. The ſtationary is dull, the declining melancholy †." And it might be added dangerous, if a great majority of the community be principally involved therein: for as Salluſt obſerves, "Semper in civitate quibus opes nullæ ſunt bonis "invident, malos extollant; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio ſuarum "rerum mutari omnia ſtudent."

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* Part III. Section 4. † Vol. i. p. 2.

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To favour the continuance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland in the firſt of theſe ſtates, is an object which, in the writer's opinion, ſhould be kept perpetually in view. And there can ſcarcely be a better, and in all reſpects, a more ſatisfactory expedient for attaining that object, than a liberal encouragement of agriculture. The labourer whoſe wages are daily riſing; the farmer whoſe profits are daily augmenting; the mechanic whoſe employment is daily extending; and the Roman Catholic clergyman whoſe revenue is daily increaſing, in proportion to the increaſing wealth of his flock, muſt neceſſarily be in general adverſe to thoſe convulſions which are calculated to impair their reſpective conditions*.

As for the Roman Catholic clergy, a munificent and efficient encouragement of agriculture, neceſſarily pregnant with a vaſt augmentation of their revenues, would probably render them more ſatisfied with their conditions than the greateſt ſalaries which it was ever propoſed to grant them from the public purſe†. Salaries, merely equivalent to their preſent revenues, would amount, in the whole, to at leaſt 100,000l. a year. But two millions ſterling, a ſum which might be borrowed for leſs than 100,000l. a year, being expended in the encouragement of agriculture, would unqueſtionably have the ultimate effect of nearly doubling their revenues, beſides all the other good effects reaſonably expected from ſuch an expen-

* In the courſe of laſt ſummer, 1807, the writer aſked an intelligent gentleman of the Roman Catholic religion, whether it was in contemplation to renew the petition of that body to parliament. The gentleman ſaid he had no doubt that the Roman Catholics of Dublin would do ſo; and that their example would be followed in other great towns; but that as for the Roman Catholics, in general, he was convinced that they were too deeply engaged in oats and butter, in barley and pork, to think about Catholic emancipation; and that if they were not wantonly irritated, they would be quiet enough.

To the miniſter who would inconſiderately provoke them, one might well ſay, in the words of the epigram on the Regent Duke of Orleans,

Pauvre ſot que vous etes
Laiſſez paitre vos betes.

† Many of the Roman Catholic clergy would, no doubt, be gratified by having their revenues augmented by ſalaries from government; but it is, by no means, certain that a diſpoſition to accept ſuch ſalaries prevails among them; and it might be queſtioned, whether the loſs of influence over their flocks, which might be occaſioned by ſubſidizing them, would not, upon the whole, be more detrimental, than beneficial. See a letter marked XXIX. in the Appendix.

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diture. The improvement in the pecuniary condition of the Roman Catholic clergy, ſince the agriculture of Ireland was liberally encouraged, has been viſibly great.

Engaged in induſtrious purſuits, experimentally found conducive to a progreſſive melioration of their circumſtances, the Roman Catholics, not only individually, but as a collective political body, muſt, if their intereſt be well underſtood by them, earneſtly deprecate all interruptions of the public tranquillity. To perſevere in lucrative induſtry, and to diſcourage all projects inconſiſtent with internal peace, muſt demonſtrably promote their political intereſt, in a ſignal manner. The yearly acceſſion of wealth and numbers which, under ſuch circumſtances, the Roman Catholic body cannot fail to experience, would ſpeedily increaſe its weight, in the political ſcale, to ſuch a degree, as to render an oppoſition to its juſt claims as unlikely as the refuſal of a tottering miniſter to beſtow the place of an exciſeman on a country gentleman who could influence two hundred voters. Succeſſive additions to the wealth and numeral force of that body are unqueſtionably equivalent, or more than equivalent, in effect, to ſucceſſive victories. Every ſucceeding year of internal peace, neceſſarily accompanied by increaſing religious harmony, muſt, moreover, with augmented efficacy, weaken the ſtill ſubſiſting alienation of the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants from each other; and draw them cloſer together by the various ties of ſocial life. Indeed it might reaſonably be expected, that before the lapſe of many years of concord, the latter would not only decline all further oppoſition to the claims of the former; but diſcourage ſuch oppoſition in every quarter. The declarations of the Proteſtants, on a late occaſion, abundantly warrant the expectation. If the Roman Catholics continue a few years longer in a progreſſively thriving condition; if they be not unfortunately hurried out of the right courſe, by the diverſified artifices of inſidious men, which in ſuch caſe, is of all others the moſt unlikely event; they muſt finally, without bloodſhed, without diſturbance, without loſs, without danger, without apprehenſion, in the midſt of opulence, and in amity with their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects, attain that equitable participation of political power, to which they have an indiſputable right to aſpire.

The change in the condition of the Roman Catholics, which the extenſion of agriculture in Ireland, and the increaſing profits accruing from that

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that purſuit, have occaſioned, and will probably enlarge, is, as before noticed, one of thoſe great national circumſtances which ordinarily baffle the counteracting ingenuity and force of man, and produce their natural effects in due ſeaſon *. The growing importance of that body, ariſing from this purſuit, is ſo cloſely interwoven with the increaſing welfare of various other deſcriptions of people, in the Iriſh and Britiſh communities, that the former cannot poſſibly be repreſſed, without obſtructing the latter; and it is by no means to be ſuppoſed that any adminiſtration, it matters not on what principles it may be formed, will exhibit ſuch an evidence of political fatuity as to do ſo. May it not rather be preſumed that, with a view to the wealth and ſtrength of the empire, His Majeſty's miniſters will amplify and confirm the means of the future advancement of the Roman Catholics; thus gradually prepare them for having their juſt claims acceded to, in accordance with the joint wiſhes of all the more reſpectable Proteſtants in Ireland; and thus wiſely and ſeaſonably wreſt their cauſe from all thoſe who are likely to advocate it on mere principles of faction?

As to the revival of enmity, between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, there exiſts but little ground for apprehending that any future miniſter will attempt it. The ſiſter kingdoms are now united. No momentous object remains to be attained by exciting that enmity: and it is not to be preſumed, that any miniſter will reſort to ſo hazardous an expedient, for the purpoſe of attaining an object of a queſtionably important nature. It is not to be apprehended that any future miniſter will keep Ireland in a dangerous ſtate of ferment, in order to ſtifle the juſt complaints of the Iriſh people. Every future miniſter will probably be ſufficiently impreſſed with theſe obvious truths; that whatever benefit may be extended to Ireland, will ultimately prove beneficial to Britain alſo; that the wealth acquired in the former, will, in various ways, ſpread through the latter; that from Ireland, in a ſtate of tranquillity and proſperity, immenſe

* "Sudden changes," ſays Vattel, "ſtrike the imaginations of men: we write hiſtories of them; and unfold their cauſes: but we neglect the changes that inſenſibly happen, by a long train of ſteps that are but little obſerved." *Law of Nations*, p. 29.

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ſupplies of men and money may be drawn; but that Ireland, in a ſtate of diſturbance, would demand immenſe ſupplies of both; and, by ſo doing, exhauſt or diminiſh thoſe reſources which the exiſtence of the empire might require. Indeed the neceſſity of allaying jealouſy and enmity, between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, appears already to have ſome influence on the conduct of government: for, under all changes of adminiſtration, ſymptoms of a ſpirit of impartiality and conciliation are diſcoverable.

But ſhould any miniſter raſhly recur to meaſures calculated to revive or ſtrengthen the animoſities of the Iriſh, there is ſufficient reaſon to expect that he will fail to ſucceed. Thoſe conſiderations which unhappily loſt their force, during the ſeaſon of rebellion, have again begun to operate; and are likely to operate hereafter with unuſual efficacy.

The great national benefits, enjoyed alike by Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, and obtained during the ſhort interval of their cordial union; the great national benefits which may yet be expected to reſult from the reeſtabliſhment and maintenance of that union; the great national injuries, felt alike by Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, during the long and late ſeaſon of their diſunion and mutual alienation; and the great national injuries which may be apprehended from a perpetuation of diſcord *, have been ſo generally admitted and acknowledged; and the oppoſite effects, produced by the different events of the laſt 30 years, have made ſuch a deep impreſſion, on the public mind, in Ireland; that any ſyſtem of meaſures depending for its efficacy, on the operation of principles of diſſenſion among the Iriſh, will, in all probability, not only totally fail of ſucceſs; but, in the end, involve the projectors and abettors in perplexities of no ordinary magnitude.

Nations, like individuals, grow wiſe by experience; and ſurely no nation under the canopy of heaven had ever yet ſuch ample experience of the inutility and calamitous effects of religious enmity as Ireland. The Pro-

* When Cyrus divided the Euphrates into 800 rivulets, a child might ford the largeſt of them. His favourite was drowned in attempting to croſs the united waters.

teſtants

teſtants and Roman Catholics have been engaged in a ſeries of murderous conflicts for two hundred years. In ſeeking to gratify their damnable deſires of exterminating each other, they impoveriſhed, paralyſed, and brutaliſed their country; and, after all, each party is infinitely farther from obtaining its object than when the ſword was firſt drawn. It has at length become utterly impoſſible for either to extinguiſh, or even cruſh the other. To ſuppoſe them capable of purſuing, or of univerſally recurring, on every emergency, to projects and practices which they and their remote anceſtors have, by accumulated experiments, found to be completely inefficacious, and in the higheſt degree detrimental, is to entertain a very unfavourable, and a very unfair opinion of their heads and hearts.

The landlords of Ireland, the Proteſtant clergy, the Roman Catholic clergy, every man who is thriving, or has a proſpect of thriving, muſt, after a moment's reflection, feel deeply intereſted in the perpetuation of religious harmony.

Moreover every individual Iriſhman, conſidered merely as a member of ſociety, without reference to his particular profeſſion or purſuit, muſt, if he advert to the miſchiefs of religious enmity, earneſtly deprecate its continuance. Under the fatal influence of this ſpecies of infanity, it is notorious that thoſe relative duties, the diſcharge whereof conduces to render ſocial life preferable to ſolitude, are frequently diſregarded altogether; generally performed in a reluctant and imperfect manner; and very ſeldom with that alacrity, cordiality and preciſion, which confeſſedly have the effect of converting a duty into a favour; and ultimately that of ſtrengthening the bonds of amity between man and man. It evidently heightens the various vexations neceſſarily incident to human intercourſe. It occaſions diſtruſt among thoſe who are conſtrained to aſſociate together. It aggravates malice. In many inſtances it completely blaſts domeſtic happineſs. It frequently precludes a reciprocity of kindneſs between neighbours. It generally proves a cauſe of unſociable reſervedneſs. It is often accompanied with diſguſting diſingenuity, alienating partiality, and even ſhameful injuſtice. It ſerves to excite all the malevolent, and to repreſs, or limit in their operation, all the benevolent affections of human nature. It is manifeſtly inconſiſtent with a performance of Chriſtian duties; and thoſe who act under its ſway, are, indiſputably, ſo far,

practice

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practical apoſtates from Chriſt, whoſe ineſtimable precepts and divine example did equally and uniformly tend to promote, among mankind, forbearance, gentleneſs and univerſal love. Viewed in all its various effects in public, and in private life, it may warrantably be pronounced a moral curſe of unequalled magnitude.

It is beſides ſo thoroughly incompatible with the more conſpicuous native qualities of the Iriſh general character, and the prevailing natural propenſities of Iriſhmen, that if we adverted to this conſideration alone, we could ſcarcely apprehend its ſurviving the preſent generation; now that the concurrent agency of thoſe principles of reciprocal animoſity, which were artificially connected with the Proteſtant and Roman Catholic religions, has ceaſed. The conſtituent qualities of the Iriſh character, have confeſſedly, upon the whole, a much ſtronger and more direct tendency to promote amity and concord, than to eternize enmity and diſcord: to augment, than to diminiſh the happineſs of ſocial life. Auſterity, inflexibility, moroſeneſs, deſpondency, and a propenſity to brood over imaginary miſchiefs, and remote problematical dangers, are certainly not the diſtinguiſhing features of the general character of the Iriſh. On the contrary, that character, though by no means free from very conſiderable blemiſhes, obviouſly preſents a rare aſſemblage of the moſt attractive, conciliatory, and generous qualities. The frankneſs, the affability, the vivacity, the good humour, the flexibility, the ſympathy, the cordiality and the ſincerity of the Iriſh are generally known and admired. They are not by nature diſpoſed to permanent mutual animoſity or repulſion; but by nature impelled to friendſhip and conviviality; and by nature eminently qualified to impart and enjoy the utmoſt degree of ſocial happineſs. Such qualities and ſuch propenſities are obviouſly calculated to accelerate the extinction of religious enmity. In fact, the Iriſh begin to grow weary of it; and perhaps it may not be too ſanguine to expect that, ere long, the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics of Ireland, yielding to the impulſe of nature, will live as amicably together as Proteſtants and Roman Catholics are found to do in other European countries, and in the United States of America; that they will unreſervedly exerciſe, among each other, the peculiarly ſociable and endearing qualities of Iriſhmen; and wiſely leave to idle and opinionated polemicks, the unprofitable and thankleſs taſk of ſhewing whether the holy ſcriptures have been leſs tortured in forming the ſpeculative articles

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articles of the church of Rome, thoſe of its next a kin, as the Preſbyterians denominate the church of England, or thoſe of the Kirk.

But independently of the foregoing conſiderations, which, however, can ſcarcely fail to operate with effect, it might reaſonably be expected that a perception of the unjuſtifiableneſs and folly of religious enmity and diſtruſt, a perception which muſt daily become more general, now that the minds of Iriſhmen are more at liberty than formerly to extend themſelves beyond mere party purſuits, would inſure the extinction of theſe pregnant evils. The religious belief of a man is certainly as involuntary as his moral and political opinions, his taſtes, habits, and purſuits. Like theſe it is the reſult of mere accident. Like theſe, it is originated by the qualities of his mental faculties, his early education, his later ſtudies, and his intercourſe with others. By aſſociating with perſons of correct or barbarous taſtes, the taſte of an individual will be imperceptibly aſſimilated to theirs. By incidental reflection, he may be led to change his habits or purſuits; and by ſtudy and converſe, be induced to adopt moral, political, or religious opinions different from thoſe which he before entertained. But it is evident, that all theſe changes alike are primarily produced by accidental circumſtances, which the individual himſelf could neither foreſee nor prevent; and to hate a man for that which he is plainly unaccountable, is certainly not defenſible on principles of reaſon or juſtice. Every one is aware of the unreaſonableneſs of hating a man on account of the ſtate of his health. The health of a man, however, is often much more in his power than his belief. And here it may be truly obſerved, by the way, that probably not one in ten thouſand of the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants has taken the trouble to examine maturely, and compare the different arguments which have been uſed in ſupport of, and in oppoſition to their reſpective tenets; and that not one in twenty of them knows preciſely what conſtitutes the difference of their religions. So that, in fact, the enmity of a vaſt majority of each religion is not even the iſſue of diſpute; but merely a traditionary emotion operating with inconſiderate people. Something, indeed, may be urged to juſtify our hatred of a man on account of his moral or political opinions; inaſmuch as many of theſe may lead to practical effects whereby we may be injured. But it is manifeſtly otherwiſe with regard to opinions on ſpeculative articles of religion; or on religious obſervances noways connected with the buſineſs of

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ſocial life; and yet we have abſurdly ſuffered ourſelves to be much more irritated by the latter, which are naturally ſterile and harmleſs; than by the former, which are often the reverſe. There ſurely does not exiſt any juſt or plauſible reaſon for hatred, between the man who believes that flour and water may be converted into fleſh and blood, and the man who believes that no ſuch miracle can be nowadays wrought; nor between the man who regards with veneration an old bone, and the man who would turn it into a pick-tooth caſe, if fit for the purpoſe; nor yet between the man who faſts, or thinks he faſts on turbot, ſalmon, pine-apples, nectarines, madeira and claret, and the man to whoſe notions of feaſting, that regimen is much more correſpondent than to his notions of faſting. Cato, Atticus, and Cicero, lived on terms of the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip with each other; yet Cato was a ſtoick, Atticus an epicurean, and Cicero an academick: ſects whereof the tenets were infinitely more oppoſite than thoſe of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics are. And ſurely Chriſtians ought to be aſhamed of being ſurpaſſed, by heathens, in the practice of Chriſtian virtues.

To repoſe confidence in a perſon whoſe religious rites are the ſame as our own, in preference to one whoſe are not, is a ſpecimen of bigotry utterly unbecoming a rational man *. Uſing or not uſing holy water, believing or not believing in the neceſſity of extreme unction, praying or not praying in Latin, employing or not employing a little image to excite a ſpirit of devotion; in ſhort, the obſervance or rejection of any trifling religious practice, whimſey, or ceremony, being juſt as fallacious evidences of the poſſeſſion or privation of truth, honour and ſincerity, the eſſential qualities of a friend, as wearing or not wearing a wig. Surely it is bigotry puſhed to the laſt degree of infatuation to inquire rather about the creeds, than the moral qualities of thoſe with whom we aſſociate: ſurely it is folly in the extreme, to regard in a ſerious light ſuch things as can evidently neither injure nor ſerve us, and, at

* From this fatuity the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland ſeem to be exempt; ſome of them, during the rebellion, having, to the writer's knowledge, depoſited what little money they had by them in the hands of neighbouring Proteſtant gentlemen, on whoſe ſcrupulous honour, though hereticks, they had the firmeſt reliance.

the

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the ſame time, to look upon others as ſecondary conſiderations, which, in a greater or leſs degree, muſt.

But, ſay the Proteſtants, it is not on account of their religious rites, conceits or ſuperſtitions that we are alienated from the Roman Catholics; but on account of their uncharitable practical tenets. The Roman Catholics maintain, that all, but thoſe who belong to their communion, muſt be damned in the world to come; and therefore eſteem it meritorious to puniſh them in this. If ſuch opinion, however, admitting that they hold it, prove in reality harmleſs, it is juſt as exceptionable a ground for alienation as any ſpeculative opinion whatever. The number of reflecting conſcientious Roman Catholic *Chriſtians* is, we truſt, and doubt not, daily increaſing: and Proteſtants are by no means warranted in ſuſpecting that ſuch Chriſtians adopt the practical inference falſely deduced from this opinion. On the contrary, it might reaſonably be expected that, if impreſſed with a belief that Proteſtants muſt be eternally miſerable in the life to come, ſuch Chriſtians would feel it incumbent on them rather to promote their happineſs in this, than to ſuperadd temporal to eternal miſery; ſeeing that everlaſting damnation is puniſhment enough for an unfortunate accidental inability to believe the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: and adverting to what they daily perceive, that the Almighty Creator of the univerſe mercifully bears with us all alike, reſerving, till the day of judgment, thoſe rewards and puniſhments which each ſhall be found to have deſerved. As for the doltiſh rabble, it matters very little what they think; for it may ſafely be relied on that, not only at preſent, but under all changes, the laws will be as effectually employed to reſtrain their outrages in this, as in any other inſtance.

The Roman Catholics are likewiſe, ſay the Proteſtants, chargeable with maintaining that faith is not to be kept with heretics. The declaration, however, of the foreign Roman Catholic Univerſities * amounts to a complete

* The three following queſtions were ſent in the year 1792, to the Univerſities of Paris, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcala: Has the Pope, or have the Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power or juriſdiction, or pre-eminence whatſoever within the realm of England? Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, abſolve or diſpenſe His Majeſty's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext

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plete refutation of that charge; which, moreover, there do not appear to have been ſufficient grounds for urging. The Roman Catholics have certainly not been found guilty of more, or greater breaches of faith, when concerned with Proteſtants, than when concerned with each other; nor, to ſpeak with becoming candour, than Proteſtants themſelves, when concerned with Roman Catholics. It ſeemed, therefore, very likely either that the Roman Catholic clergy took no pains to give this tenet influence over the minds of the laity; or that their labour was, generally ſpeaking, in vain. Indeed in a country, circumſtanced as Ireland, with reſpect to religions, the ordinary buſineſs of life would not admit of conduct conformable to ſuch a treacherous principle as this; which, if it were inculcated and cheriſhed, muſt operate on all trivial, as well as momentous occaſions. A majority of the people, of all religions, are ready enough to violate the commandment of God, reſpecting the ſabbath, whenever buſineſs, or even pleaſure prompts them to do ſo; and there neither is, nor was ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect the Roman Catholics of being more ſcrupulous with regard to the obſervance of this highly inconvenient tenet, inculcated, by man, if indeed it ever was.

As for the words, *hæreticos, ſchiſmaticos & rebelles, pro poſſe, perſequar & impugnabo*, in the conſecration oath of the Roman Catholic Biſhops, and which have been employed to alarm the Proteſtants, they are probably not conſidered, by thoſe who repeat them, to be of ſo violent an import as they have been ſuppoſed to be, by ſome zealous opponents of popery. The word *perſequar* is certainly ſomewhat ambiguous. Beſides, it is to be obſerved, that this oath was framed in times characteriſtically different from the preſent; in times, when the clergy of the church of Rome could ſafely perſiſt in that conduct, towards thoſe who rejected their doctrines, which they no longer can, in almoſt any inſtance, without danger, purſue; in

whatſoever? Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are juſtified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other perſons differing from them in religious opinions, in any tranſaction, either of a public or private nature? The anſwer was, *that the Pope or Papal authority had no where any ſuch power; and there was no tenet in the Catholic church by which Catholics were juſtified in not keeping faith with Proteſtants*. The Iriſh Roman Catholic committee maintained the ſame; and the declaration was ſigned by delegates from all parts of Ireland.

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times, when that ſpirit of perſecution, which is now ſo univerſally and ſo juſtly decried and condemned, was generally deemed meretorious: that what was expected then, is neither expected, nor deſired now: that the eſſence of the crime of perjury is deceit, pregnant with greater or leſs evil to others; but that if no expectation be entertained of an adherence to this clauſe of the oath, no deceit is practiſed by declining to obſerve it.

At all events, it may reaſonably be expected that the welfare of their people, a primary conſideration, and which both duty and intereſt require them to keep perpetually in view, will always prompt the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland to avail themſelves of that liberty of acting which the words, "*pro poſſe*" certainly involve.

The preſent Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland ſtand, confeſſedly, diſtinguiſhed, for the moſt part, by high and correct notions of their duty to God and man; by an ardent ambition to imitate the example of our bleſſd Savour; and by a laudable ſolicitude to exalt their religion in the eſteem of men. They are pious, enlightened, patriotic, and zealous for the maintenance of good order and internal peace *. And therefore, can, on no good ground, be ſuſpected of acting, in any caſe, in conformity with principles of perſecution. In fact, the age of wild fanaticiſm, ſottiſh bigotry and tyrannic intolerance has paſſed away.

But ſuppoſe the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, unreſtrained by the exiſting laws of the land, were diſpoſed to reſort to the dangerous, unchriſtian-like and notoriouſly inefficacious expedient of perſecution, in order to eſtabliſh an uniformity of religious opinions, inſtead of endeavouring, as they do, to render their religion attractive by their examples and inſtructions. What then? Such diſpoſition can certainly never be productive of miſchief, unleſs aided by the arms of the laity. And there poſitively is not ſufficient reaſon to apprehend, whatever may

* The diſinclination, which the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland are ſaid to have lately manifeſted, to any alteration in the mode of filling their vacant ſees, will not, it is hoped, be precipitately urged as an evidence of principles tending to diſloyalty. Perhaps there may be a little clerical coquetry in the buſineſs. Perhaps they may be reſtrained by formal reſpect for the head of their church from *conſenting* to the alteration in queſtion. But it does not follow from thence that they would not quickly *acquieſce* in a *deciſion* of the Legiſlature.

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be the caſe with a few prieſt-ridden individuals, or with the beſotted rabble, in a few diſtricts where Proteſtant tyranny has been habitually exerciſed, that the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland, collectively, or the leading perſons thereof, will ever ſecond their clergy in a ſyſtem of perſecution, confeſſedly unſanctioned by the goſpel, and whereof the real objects can be no other than the increaſe or preſervation of the power and wealth of the church: acquiſitions, which, in their exceſs, are demonſtrably pregnant with injury to religion. Though, on the one hand, the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland may always be found laudably ſubmiſſive to their clergy in ſpiritual affairs; it is, on the other hand, very far from being probable that the former will ever yield to the dictation of the latter with reſpect to meaſures of a temporal nature.

No Iriſhman, capable of due reflection, can fail to be ſufficiently impreſſed with this moſt important truth, that an internal war in Ireland, on the ground of religion, is of all calamitous events the moſt to be deprecated. Such a war would unavoidably occaſion the fierceſt conflicts, attended by diverſified miſery, in almoſt every part of Ireland. It would neceſſarily be long of doubtful iſſue; the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants being, upon the whole, in point of ſtrength, equally balanced.

To ſubdue and exterminate one million of Iriſh Proteſtants, aided by proteſtant Britain, is as manifeſtly beyond the power of four millions of Iriſh Roman Catholics, as it certainly is beyond the power of the former to ſubdue and exterminate the latter. And whatever might be the final iſſue of the conteſt, the few who ſurvived it would probably not ſurvive the extenſive devaſtation which it would inevitably occaſion.

Ne pueri, ne tanta animis aſſueſcite bella,
Neu patriæ validas in viſcera vertite vires.

Concluſion.—Should the various facts, events and conſiderations which have been briefly preſented to the view, or recalled to the recollection of the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics of Ireland, in the courſe of the foregoing pages, operate, as ſeems natural, in exſtinguiſhing that religious enmity, which has hitherto been the primary cauſe of the internal diſquietude, the national debility and political degradation of their country: and ſhould the Legiſlature of the United Kingdom, ſenſible of the vaſt real value

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value of Ireland, continue to act under a salutary solicitude for the maintenance of tranquillity, and the extension of a spirit of industry therein; and wisely endeavour to raise, enrich and strengthen, instead of endeavouring, as the British Legislature formerly did, to depress, impoverish and paralyse that important part of the empire, there appears to exist the most ample ground for expecting, that, endowed by nature, beyond almost any other country in Europe, and abounding in people, it will ere long (to recur to the assertion of the sagacious Sir William Temple) "make a mighty addition of strength and revenue to the crown of England."

APPEN-

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APPENDIX.

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No. I.

TABLE, shewing the Quantities of BARLEY and MALT, OATS, WHEAT, OATMEAL, WHEATMEAL, and FLOUR, exported from IRELAND, since the Commencement of the last Century, in Periods of four Years.

Four Years,	*Barley and Malt.*	*Oats.*	*Wheat.*	*Oatmeal.*	*Wheatmeal*	*Flour.*	*Acts regulating Weights and Measures.*
Ending Dec. 25.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	
1704	16,317	6,937	7,106	37,707	674	-	- -
3¼ to Mar. 25.							
1708	38,378	5,636	16,480	42,834	3,268	-	- -
4 25th March							
1712	101,420	4,879	66,705	50,427	10,493	-	6 A. c. 18. (*a*)
1716	172,345	23,439	138,540	66,100	7,577	-	- -
1720	91,719	39,277	7,656	53,788	1,504	-	- -
1724	101,500	35,103	2,351	66,242	1,140	-	- -
1728	81,723	20,416	6,225	43,122	945	-	- -
1732	158,668	32,636	1,833	15,452	242	-	- -
1736	165,380	4,440	234	3,632	146	-	7 G. 2. c. 15. (*b*)
1740	233,366	7,778	1,971	3,075	160	-	- -
1744	80,213	6,288	5,249	18,128	1,787	-	- -
1748	35,282	3,057	6,955	12,306	1,008	-	- -
1752	54,466	5,869	4,706	9,637	290	-	- -
1756	9,902	19,343	7	52,503	50	-	25 G. 2. c. 15. (*c*)
1760	21,461	28,896	3,751	38,951	307	-	- -
1764	17,533	17,788	117	37,762	235	-	- -
1768	29,584	40,377	2,258	69,603	68	-	- -
1772	24,337	74,532	8,145	103,811	5	-	- -
1776	58,642	181,106	17,220	151,159	100	-	13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11. (*d*)
1780	30,483	278,512	41,232	34,228	1,178	-	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17. (*e*)
1784	34,527	174,881	83,933	40,011	200	255,736	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. (*f*)
1788	158,489	618,346	89,888	256,366	32	71,703	- -
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.		
1792	156,562	2,156,944	640,353	443,614	114	346,651	- -
1796	46,959	1,947,254	160,720	195,055	-	45,172	- -
1800	97,333	1,959,120	114,211	312,213	-	26,476	- -
3¾ Jan. 5.							
1804	45,543	866,368	270,838	187,033	-	135,128	- -
Two Years							
1806	47,700	718,934	287,699	101,530	-	44,367	- -
1808	87,249	1,186,047	221,217	90,223	-	43,103	- -
One Year							
1808	68,785	724,347	68,003	46,772	-	6,889	- -

(*a*) Bushel, or Quarter, containing 8 Bushels.
(*b*) Quarters of all sorts of Grain to weigh 40 Stones.
(*c*) Quarter of Wheat 40 Stones; of Barley 24; of Oats 22.
(*d*) Quarter of Wheat 32 Stones.
(*e*) English exportation Measures.
(*f*) Barrel of Wheat 20 Stones; of Barley 16; of Oats 14.

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No. II.

TABLE, shewing the Quantities of BARLEY and MALT, OATS, WHEAT, OATMEAL, WHEATMEAL and FLOUR, imported into IRELAND since the Commencement of the last Century, in Periods of four Years.

Four Years,	*Malt.*	*Corn.*		*Oatmeal.*	*Wheatmeal*	*Flour.*	*Acts regulating Weights and Measures.*
Ending Dec. 25,	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	
1704	1,009	-	5,027	18	71	-	6 A. c. 18.
3¼ to Mar. 25, 1708	65	-	2,391	13	13	-	- -
4 25th March. 1712	16	-	3,556	29	53	-	- -
* 1716	31	-	3,532	-	375	-	- -
	Barley and Malt.						
1720	567		27,309	1,164	294	-	- -
		Oats.	Wheat.				
1724	47,274	5,416	98,044	59	8,157	-	- -
† 1728	14,065	1,006	43,176	1,282	12,741	-	- -
1732	19,751	650	104,226	12,127	24,344	-	- -
1736	68,915	1,863	115,540	34,520	63,178	-	7 G. 2. c. 15.
1740	29,763	2,437	60,777	29,441	45,263	-	- -
1744	53,175	3,341	52,061	3,360	46,240	-	- -
1748	264,569	23,797	164,904	81,968	5,300	-	- -
1752	201,398	3,670	75,786	20,632	161	-	- -
1756	348,912	1,648	136,938	22,425	-	71,342	25 G. 2. c. 15.
1760	138,225	6,115	118,242	8,725	9	179,694	- -
1764	143,559	203	67,974	9,148	1,254	247,319	- -
1768	125,574	4,547	70,149	1,260	15,473	229,558	- -
1772	118,263	4,660	111,341	28,328	9,467	275,144	- -
1776	15,672	415	17,718	3,096	3,623	88,962	13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11.
1780	133,200	2,296	17,998	52,241	241	85,723	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17.
1784	166,820	7,684	51,150	13,361	334	142,519	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19.
1788	44,546	782	39,426	2,859	321	110,947	- -
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.		
1792	2,347	717	1,933	-	-	86	- -
1796	24,622	784	103,563	-	-	11,496	- -
1800	55,243	1,617	19,439	14	10	360	- -
3¼ Jan. 5, 1804	10,980	4,061	74,653	6	‡ 171,264	98,642	- -
Two Years, 1806	180,700	30	1,739	250	-	1,394	- -
1808	23,111	3,172	10,356	1,004	-	6,296	- -
One Year 1808	583	138	9,145	1,004	-	4,003	- -

* The different sorts of Grain are not distinguished in the Custom-house Books before the year ending March 25, 1719.

† Bushels reduced to Quarters till the year ending March 25, 1725.

‡ Indian Meal imported during the year of scarcity in this period.

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No. III.

TABLE, Shewing the Annual Average Excefs of CORN, ground and unground, exported from, and imported into IRELAND, fince the Commencement of the laft Century, in Periods of four Years.

ANNUAL AVERAGE EXCESS OF CORN GROUND AND UNGROUND EXPORTED.				ANNUAL AVERAGE EXCESS OF CORN GROUND AND UNGROUND IMPORTED.			*Acts regulating Weights and Measures.*
Four Years,	*Corn unground.*	*Meal.*	*Flour.*	*Corn unground.*	*Meal.*	*Flour.*	
Ending Dec. 25.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Cwts.	
1704	6,081	9,574	-	-	-	-	6 A. c. 18.
3¼ to Mar. 25.							
1708	19,367	15,359	-	-	-	-	- -
4 25th March.							
1712	42,358	15,210	-	-	-	-	- -
1716	82,691	18,326	-	-	-	-	- -
1720	27,694	13,459	-	-	-	-	- -
1724	-	14,791	-	2,945	-	-	- -
1728	12,530	7,511	-	-	-	-	- -
1732	17,128	-	-	-	5,195	-	- -
1736	-	-	-	4,066	23,480	-	7 G. 2. c. 15.
1740	37,537	-	-	-	17,868	-	- -
1744	-	-	-	4,207	7,422	-	- -
1748	-	-	-	101,986	18,489	-	- -
1552	-	-	-	53,953	2,717	[illegible]	- -
1756	-	7,532	-	114,561	-	17,835	25 G. 2. c. 15.
1760	-	7,631	-	52,109	-	44,923	- -
1664	-	6,899	-	44,075	-	61,829	- -
1768	-	13,234	-	32,013	-	57,389	- -
1772	-	16,506	-	31,813	-	68,786	- -
1776	56,041	36,135	-	-	-	22,240	13 & 14. G. 3. c. 11.
1780	49,183	-	-	-	4,269	21,430	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17.
1784	16,922	6,629	28,305		-	-	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19.
1788	195,492	63,304	-	-	-	9,811	- -
	Barrels.	Cwts.					
1792	737,215	110,932	86,641	-	-	-	- -
1796	506,511	48,763	8,419	-	-	-	- -
1800	523,594	78,053	6,529	-	-	-	- -
3¼ Jan. 5.							
1804	273,264	3,941	9,122	-	-	-	- -
Two Years,							
1806	481,482	50,703	21,835	-	-	-	- -
1808	728,937	44,609	18,403	-	-	-	- -
One Year,							
1808	850,769	45,768	2,586	-	-	-	-

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TABLE, shewing the Annual Average Excess of CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, exported from and imported Acts under which the Bounties were claimed—and the Acts which imposed Duties on

	EXPORT.			IMPORT.			BOUNTY ON EXPORTATION.		
4 Years,	Annual Average Excess of Corn.	Annual Average Excess of Meal and Flour.	Total.	Annual Average Excess of Corn.	Annual Average Excess of Meal and Flour.	Total.	Annual Average Amount of Bounty paid.	Total Amount of Bounty paid	Acts granting Bounties.
Ending Dec. 25.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
1704	10,244	9,573	19,817	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -
3¼ to Mar. 25.									
1708	32,886	15,359	48,248	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -
4 to Mar. 25.									
1712	71,901	15,210	87,111	-	-	-	- -	- -	6 A. c. 18.
1716	139,324	18,326	157,650	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -
1720	47,113	13,459	60,572	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -
1724	-	14,791	11,170	3,621	-	-	- -	- -	- -
1728	22,127	7,511	29,638	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -
1732	31,602	-	26,407	-	5,195	-	- -	- -	- -
1736	466	-	-	-	23,480	23,014	- -	- -	- -
1740	101,670	-	83,802	-	17,868	-	- -	- -	- -
1744	-	-	-	4,402	7,422	11,824	- -	- -	- -
1748	-	-	-	237,078	18,489	255,567	- -	48 years, ending	- -
1752	-	-	-	100,801	2,717	103,518	- -	in 1755.	- -
1756	-	-	-	188,799	1,385	190,184	863 18 9	40,487 0 1½	- -
1760	-	-	-	92,082	14,830	106,912	91 9 5¼	10 years, ending in 1765. 913 5 3	29 G. 2. c. 9.
1764	-	-	-	74,280	24,015	98,295			- -
1768	-	-	-	55,742	15,460	71,202	213 6 0½	9 years, ending in 1774. 1,919 14 5	5 G. 3. c. 19.
1772	-	-	-	59,424	17,887	77,311			- -
1776	87,268	25,014	112,282	-	14,984	-	4,553 13 8½	6 years, ending in 1780. 27,322 2 4½	13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11.
1780	71,781		56,797	-		-			- -
1784	21,131	20,781	41,912	-	-	-	12,211 3 3	4 years, ending in 1774. 48,844 13 0½	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17.
1788	390,984	58,391	449,375	-	-	-	36,405 2 9½	4 years, ending in 1788.	
1792	737,215	98,786	836,001	-	-	-	- -		
1796	506,511	28,591	535,102	-	-	-	- -	145,620 11 3½	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19.
1800	523,594	42,291	565,585	-	-	-	- -		
3¾ to Jan. 5.								1 year, ending in 1789.	
1804	273,264	6,531	279,795	-	-	-	- -	59,206 13 2½	- -
4 to Jan. 5.									
1808	582,367	33,784	616,151	-	-	-	- -		
1 Year, ending Jan. 5.									
1808	850,769	24,327	875,096	-	-	-	- -	- -	- -

Note. No distinction being made in the Custom-house books between the barley, wheat and oats, imported before the period ending in 1720, the average of the average weights of their respective quarters is taken, and from thence the number of barrels is deduced. The barley, wheat and oats, exported, being distinguished before as well as after that period, their respective quarters are reduced, as in all the other periods, to the statute barrels of 23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. The quantity of malt exported and imported being very trifling in all the periods, and a barrel thereof, 12 stone, being, with reference to tillage, equivalent to a barrel of barley, 16 stone, the weight of the former has been thrown wholly out of the account. The quantities of the several sorts of grain exported and imported during the quarter, which augments the period ending in 1708 beyond three years, and that which is wanting to complete the period ending in 1804, were not, upon the whole, sufficiently considerable to induce the necessity of departing from an annual average. In consequence of the changes of weight which took place in the middle of the period ending in 1736, and in that of the period ending in 1776, the average of the weights of the periods immediately

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IV.

into IRELAND since the year 1700: also the Amount of the Bounties granted on Exportation—the CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, imported, when under certain Prices in the Home Market.

Detail of the Bounties granted by these Acts on the several sorts of Corn exported.		Duties on Importation. Acts imposing Duties on the Importation of Corn.
		15 & 16 G. 3, c. 3. Year 1776. On wheat, except British, 2s. the barrel, when not above 23s.—Flour, &c. except British, 1s. the cwt.
6 A. c. 18. Year 1707.	On wheat, ground or unground, when at or under 14s. the qr. 1s. 6d. Barley, bere and malt, when at or under 10s. the qr. 1s.	19 & 20 G. 3, c. 17. Year 1780. On wheat, except British, 16s. $11\frac{12}{20}$d. British, when not above 53s. 4d. British the qr. British exportation measure. Barley 16s. $11\frac{1}{20}$d., when not above 32s. Oats 5s. $10\frac{1}{20}$d., when not above 16s.
29 G. 2, c. 9. Year 1755.	On wheat, ground or unground, not exceeding 24s. the qr. of 40 ft. 2s. Barley and bere, not exceeding 12. the qr. of 24 ft. 1s. 6d. Malt, not exceeding 12s. the qr. of 20 ft. 1s. 6d. Oats, not exceeding 6s. the qr. of 22 ft. 1s.	23 & 24 G. 3, c. 19. Year 1784. On wheat 10s. the barrel, when under 30s. Barley 10s. when under 14s. 6d. Malt 10d. the stone. Oats 5s. the barrel, when under 11s.
5 G. 3, c. 19. Year 1765.	On wheat, not exceeding 6s. the cwt. 8d. Barley, not exceeding 3s. 9d. the cwt. 5d. Oats, not exceeding 3s. the cwt. 5d.	
13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11. Year 1774.	On wheat, not exceeding 1s. Brsh. the ft. 3s. 4d. Brsh. the qr. of 32 ft. Meal and flour same bounty. Oats, ground and unground, not exceeding 9s. the qr. of 22 ft. 1s. 3d.	Export prohibited when wheat at 30s. the barrel, barley 14s. 6d oats or meal 11s.
19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17. Year 1780.	On wheat, under 44s. Brsh. the qr. Brsh. exportation measure, 5s. Barley, bere, big and malt, under 22s. do. do. 2s. 6d. Oats, under 14s. do. do. 2s. Oatmeal the qr. of 276 lb.	25 G. 3, c. 10. Supplementary to the foregoing Acts. Wheat-meal 6d. the stone, when wheat subject to 10s. Flour and biscuit 9d. Barley meal $7\frac{1}{2}$d. Oatmeal 5d. when oats subject to 5s.
23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. Year 1784.	On wheat, not exceeding 27s. the barrel of 20 ft. 3s. 4d. Wheatmeal and malt of wheat the cwt. 1s. 4d. Flour, wheaten bread and biscuit, do. 1s. 11d. Barley, bere and big, not exceeding 13s. 6d. the barrel of 16 ft. 1s. 7d. Malt, the barrel of 12 ft. 2s. Oats, not exceeding 10s. the barrel of 14 ft. 1s. 5d. Oatmeal the cwt. 1s.	

Bounties were also granted by the 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of these acts, on rye exported, and on peas and beans by the 4th and 6th. But the quantities of these articles exported and imported, being so inconsiderable as to render them unworthy of a place in the tables, it is unnecessary to specify these bounties here.

immediately preceding and succeeding these has been taken. This shews the excess of corn unground to have been on the side of export in the former, instead of being on that of import, as appears in Table, No. 3. Two cwts. of flour, which was always exported and imported by the cwt. are taken as one barrel; as are also, for the most part, two cwts. of meal, the weight of the barrel of meal in the Custom-house books not being clearly ascertained before the 19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17., which required that the quarter of oatmeal imported or exported should weigh 276 lb. and the barrel impliedly 138 lb or somewhat more than 9¼ stones. From the period, therefore, ending in 1780, to that ending in 1788, 10 stone of meal are considered as a barrel, there having been a small quantity of wheatmeal imported and exported during that time. In the period ending in 1788, the quarter in the Custom-house books is considered as constituting 2 statute-barrels.

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No. V.

ACCOUNT of the Quantities of GRAIN and FLOUR brought by Land Carriage, Canal, and Coastways, to DUBLIN; and also the Amount of the Bounties paid.

	Land Carriage.				Canal.			Coastways.				
	Grain.	*Flour.*	*Bounty.*	*Acts.*	*Grain.*	*Flour.*	*Bounty.*	*Grain.*	*Flour.*	*Bounty.*	*Acts.*	
	Stones.	Flour and Grain not separated in the accounts before 1769.	£		Stones.	Cwts.		Cwts.	Cwts.	£.		
1762	1,730,869		4,940	1757.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1,592,418		5,096	31 G. 2. c. 3.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	1,622,933		5,483	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	1,409,726		6,660	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	1,464,296		9,212	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	945,289		6,074	7 G. 3. c. 12.	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 G. 3. c. 4.	
8	2,148,805	Cwts.	13,675	Distance from	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	2,608,910	107,986.	25,225	Dublin short-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1770	1,920,978	79,350	18,706	ened.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	1,641,867	87,968	19,290	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	3,146,960	153,139	39,560	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	3,263,199	175,177	44,465	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	3,553,996	190,346	49,674	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	3,211,214	213,885	53,889	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	3,622,076	255,256	60,745	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	3,240,692	317,753	61,786	-	-	-	Act 17 & 18.	-	-	-	-	-
8	3,250,139	333,904	71,521	-	-	-	G. c. 29.	-	-	-	17 & 18 G. 3. c. 34.	
9	2,966,506	348,405	67,848	-	-	-	-	-	-	£.	Bounty increased.	
1780	3,441,246	373,245	77,856	19 & 20. G. 3.	-	-	-	208,184	-	5,868	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 34.	
1	3,210,733	373,363	68,272	c. 17.	-	-	-	235,256	-	7,738	Bounty extended.	
2	2,685,992	445,873	57,762	Bounty reduced	-	-	- £.	319,661	-	17,185	-	-
3	1,251,011	288,954	30,241	-	-	6,376	216	284,509	293,460	11,228	-	-
4	901,177	275,419	30,962	-	-	10,100	446	235,871	39,941	10,516	-	-
5	961,528	252,054	28,905	-	-	19,050	783	328,406	40,849	12,869	-	-
6	1,265,034	339,028	40,223	-	1,456	20,015	640	256,149	33,877	11,779	-	-
7	1,308,180	337,814	43,133	-	308,992	56,363	3,857	337,280	85,995	18,362	-	-
8	1,169,983	271,785	39,155	-	694,866	121,779	12,854	422,638	59,612	20,455	-	-
9	1,198,418	202,097	30,220	-	949,689	247,045	27,833	441,789	19,356	19,648	-	-
1790	1,062,707	228,897	32,152	-	1,064,752	249,040	27,334	446,621	7,708	19,918	-	-
1	1,087,182	153,575	24,116	-	992,645	238,184	27,395	540,573	15,146	24,197	-	-
2	870,080	233,442	27,848	-	1,170,460	299,545	33,216	654,360	10,787	29,685	-	-
3	828,583	223,811	28,027	-	1,119,196	292,877	31,992	593,739	10,381	28,074	-	-
4	1,179,351	286,627	35,716	-	640,520	210,785	24,303	634,374	33,568	29,963	-	-
5	913,925	168,146	23,505	-	743,038	202,985	22,539	686,140	37,060	33,929	-	-
6	1,011,228	199,351	28,283	-	705,501	243,358	24,725	591,549	12,291	28,763	-	-
7	1,080,391	189,386	29,074	-	740,227	261,339	28,958	760,399	31,747	36,616	-	-
8	687,780	57,364	13,545	-	529,010	74,720	10,927	400,878	10,235	20,115	-	-

Shillings and Pence omitted.

Total amount of Bounty paid in 37 years for inland carriage, £1,252,847-
Do. 16 do. canal, - 278,018
Do. 19 do. coastways, - 386,908

Grand Total, £1,917,770

Average annual Bounty paid for the supplying of Dublin with grain, £51,1011 12 5½

Number of average barrels brought, 7,791,116
at 3s. 2½d. per barrel.
Do. - 1,862,256
at 2s. 11¼d. per barrel.
Do. - 4,439,248
at 1s. 8¾d.
Difference between land carriage and coastways, 1s. 5¼d. per barrel.

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TABLE, Shewing the Quantities of BEEF, BUTTER, PORK, and the Number of LIVE CATTLE, exported from Ireland since the Year 1700, in Periods of four Years: also the BEEF and PORK exported from the Port of CORK to different Markets, in one Year: and likewise the Number of CATTLE and SHEEP annually exhibited for Sale at the Fair of BALLINASLOE, since the Year 1771, &c.

Four Years,	Live Cattle.	Beef.	Butter.	Pork.	Annual Average Export of Live Cattle.	Annual Average Export of Beef.	Annual Average Export of Butter.	Annual Average Export of Pork.
Ending Dec. 25.	No.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Barrels.	No.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Barrels.
1704	1,976	283,344	368,877	54,909	494	70,833	92,219	13,727
3¼ Mar. 25.								
1708	137	264,420	445,982	11,395	34	66,105	111,498	2,848
1712	603	342,130	561,060	15,945	150	85,532	140,265	3,986
1716	840	441,153	747,913	32,809	210	110,288	186,978	8,202
1720	925	471,865	745,798	31,178	231	117,966	186,449	7,794
1724	1,506	534,389	589,811	34,300	376	133,597	147,452	8,575
1728	1,228	540,257	702,996	42,180	307	135,064	175,749	10,545
1732	443	580,835	614,909	48,826	110	145,208	153,727	12,206
1736	188	595,851	588,487	46,123	47	148,962	147,121	11,530
1740	59	601,983	644,851	46,563	14	150,495	161,212	11,640
1744	514	511,966	617,242	47,282	128	127,991	154,310	11,820
1748	95	495,385	806,666	64,371	23	123,846	201,666	16,092
1752	26	705,301	949,380	80,253	6	176,325	237,345	20,063
1756	116	654,101	825,228	139,641	29	163,525	206,307	34,910
1760	4,117	644,941	828,984	148,553	1,029	161,235	207,246	37,138
1764	9,577	783,476	950,257	196,405	2,344	195,869	237,564	49,101
1768	5,195	773,739	1,134,725	172,552	1,298	198,434	283,681	43,138
1772	4,048	815,476	1,105,127	171,218	1,012	203,869	276,281	42,804
1776	16,707	798,822	1,079,046	226,521	4,176	199,705	269,786	56,630
1780	16,712	685,945	994,338	317,163	4,178	171,486	248,584	79,290
1784	9,699	684,633	1,006,171	356,474	2,424	171,158	251,542	89,118
1788	75,430	579,545	1,198,276	346,122	18,857	144,886	299,569	86,530
1792	95,154	502,910	1,235,293	370,892	23,288	125,727	308,823	92,723
1796	21,336	484,423	1,174,645	546,353	5,334	121,105	293,661	136,588
1800	78,836	521,921	1,164,165	564,742	19,709	130,480	291,041	141,188
3¾ 5th Jan.								
1804	106,578	303,189	1,213,766	318,757	26,644	75,797	303,441	79,689
Two Years, 5th Jan.								
1806	37,944	191,204	614,570	192,618	18,972	95,602	307,285	96,309
1808	54,115	230,806	672,506	283,665	27,057	115,403	336,253	141,332

Provisions exported from Cork, from the 1st of October 1805, to the 1st of September 1806.

Exported to	Beef.		Pork.	
	Tierces.	Barrels.	Tierces.	Barrels.
Antigua, -	50	15	-	490
Briſtol, -	100	70	-	937
Barbadoes, -	584	2,941	-	3,421
Demerara, -	12	40	-	24
Dominica, -	80	793	-	172
Engliſh Channel,	1,900	982	2,153	2,106
Grenada, -	-	26	-	9
Guernſey, -	-	108	80	1,658
Jamaica, -	718	5,323	90	4,402
Liſbon, -	-	1,110	-	126
Liverpool, -	102	300	-	847
London, -	11,062	2,868	8,518	14,331
Madeira, -	-	-	-	41
Newfoundland, -		497	-	841
St. Chriſtophers, -		108	-	75
St. Lucia, -	-	100	-	110
St. Thomas, -	-	-	-	20
St. Vincents, -	14	246	-	269
Tortola, -	-	23	-	31
Trinidada, -	-	1,033	-	327
Total, -	*14,622	16,583	10,841	30,237

* A Tierce weighs about 320 lb.—a Barrel 210 lb.

EXPORTED.				
One Year,	Hogs.	Hams.	Flitches.	Hogs-lard.
Ending Jan. 5,	No.	Cwts.	No.	Cwts.
1807	11,458	2 214	233,874	13,162
1808	17,345	5,834	291,019	18,885
Average of Three Years, Ending March 25.				
1785	-	813	25,025	4,306
1795	-	840	61,628	5,486

CATTLE and SHEEP ſold and unſold at the FAIR of BALLINASLOE.

Years.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Years.	Cattle.	Sheep	Years.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Years.	Cattle.	Sheep.
1771	10,876	51,950	1780	10,207	67,395	1789	11,563	68,717	1798	9,420	70,074
1772	12,603	53,682	1781	10,567	70,471	1790	11,197	67,646	1799	9,916	77,594
1773	10,233	61,682	1782	12,172	68,876	1791	10,776	67,425	1800	5,884	75,319
1774	9,591	66,633	1783	12,898	74,625	1792	11,570	68,039	1801	9,410	72,579
1775	10,314	64,924	1784	10,243	69,670	1793	10,540	69,385	1802	9,235	82,450
1776	14,110	67,512	1785	12,087	67,543	1794	10,121	70,399	1803	10,105	76,054
1777	11,461	76,535	1786	10,113	68,108	1795	10,179	73,171	1804	9,456	87,417
1778	12,368	76,482	1787	8,630	68,980	1796	9,178	70,292			
1779	11,428	61,875	1788	10,617	70,560	1797	10,001	74,267	1807	8,728	76,833

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No. VII.

TABLE, Shewing the Quantity of Plain and Coloured LINEN, CAMBRICK and LINEN YARN, exported from Ireland, in different Periods, since the Year 1698: also the Quantity of FLAX-SEED imported, in different Periods, since the Year 1770.

Years,	Plain Linen.	Coloured Linen.	Annual Average of both.	Cambrick.	Linen Yarn.	Annual Average.	Flax-seed.	Annual Average.
Ending Dec. 25.	Pieces.	Yards.	Pieces.	Yards.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Hogsheads.	Hogsheads.
1698	23,727				8,916			
1699	18,858	-	21,292		5,861	7,388		
1700	12,714				4,506			
1701	9,408	-	12,870		7,821	6,966		
1702	16,488				8,573			
25th March	Yards.							
1710	1,688,574				7,975			
1711	1,254,815	-	1,439,833		7,321	7,737		
1712	1,376,122				7,916			
1720	2,637,984				15,002			
1721	2,520,781	-	2,859,556		14,696	14,817		
1722	3,419,904				14,754			
1730	4,136,203				10,088			
1731	3,775,830	-	3,901,528		13,746	13 059		
1732	3,792,551				15,343			
1740	6,627,771				18,542			
1741	7,207,741	-	6,969,893		21,656	18,842		
1742	7,074,168				16,339			
1750	11,200,460			72	22,373			
1751	12,891,318	-	11,580,493	1,493	23,743	23,141		
1752	10,649,703				23,407			
1760	13,375,456				31,042			
1761	12,048,881	-	13,661,337	9183	39,699	35,563		
1762	15,559,676				35,950			
1770	20,560,754				33,471		19,432	
1771	25,376,808	-	22,178,913	1,163	34,166	33,359	45,089	29,583
1772	20,599,178				32,441		24,230	
1780	18,746,902	7 319		21	42,369		19,567	
1781	14,947,265	111,295	19,619,168	404	37,202	35,919	23,640	22,939
1782	24,970,303	74,422			28,187		25,611	
1790	37,322,125	144,008		6,877	31,572		42,588	
1791	39,718,706	116,037	37663,748	8,475	26,999	25,253	41,427	45,197
1792	45,581,667	108,703		11,270	17,190		51,578	
1800	35,676,908	213,142		13,242	12,201		64,547	
5 Jan. 5.								
1801	25,041,516	213,921	39,678,469	1,528	18,182	17,958	23,925	47,442
Years								
1802	37,767,077	142,853		1,672	23,492		53,855	
1804	37,432,365	137,489		71	7,847		50,264	
1805	42,988,621	127,091	41,456,366	260	8,967	7,966	51,941	45,216
1806	43,534,971	148,562			7,075		33,443	
1807	39,049,727	111,294		1,764	8,705	10,574	72,601	59,657
1808	40,901,442	152,424	40,012,443	837	12,443		46,274	

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No. VIII.

ACCOUNT of the Quantities of CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, BEEF, BUTTER, PORK, BACON, HORNED CATTLE, HOGS, and LINEN exported from different Sea-ports in Ireland, in the Year ending 5th January 1808: Alſo an Account of the Quantity of Flaxſeed imported into the ſame, in the year ending 5th January 1807.

Ports.	No. of Houſes in principal Sea-port Towns.	Barley and Malt.	Oats.	Wheat.	Flour.	Oatmeal.	Beef.	Butter.	Pork.	Hams.	Flitches.	Bullocks and Cows.	Hogs.	Linen, plain.	Linen, coloured.	Flaxſeed imported, year ending Jan. 5, 1807
		Barrels.	arrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Barrels.	Cwts.	No.	No.	No.	Yards.	Yards.	Hogſheads.
Baltimore	47	596	1,038	-	—	-	-	187	114	-	-	-	-	75		
Ballyraine																
Belfaſt	3,053	700	6,075	80	-	-	8,270	19,414	19,301	2,306	26,902	2	-	16,735,582	10,652	10,994
Clare, Ennis	545	50	8,318	169	-	-										
Coleraine	833	-	17	-	-	-	-	910	217	-	-	-	-	1,150	-	1,026
Cork		1,781	53,162	2,213	1,053	1,843	31,750	117,084	64,990	84	4,813	2,730	8,308	1,337,787	105,394	5,754
Dingle	352															
Donaghadee		404	386	40	50	5,953	-	-	-	-	-	11,067	-	18,113		
Drogheda	3,087	3,296	42,238	2,725	-	-	49	2,844	-	-	77	175	99	3,186,759	28,178	14,342
Dublin	16,023	878	22,187	1,518	28	4,980	35,389	14,252	6,938	2,526	1,101	1,828	448	12,923,678	-	341
Dundalk	1,083	2,877	1,040	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	3,014	4,707	17,870	-	2,578
Galway	1,212	-	2,887	-	-	1,385	-	5		5	-	-	46			
Killybegs	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	-	1,665
Kinſale	1,036	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	35			
Larne		441	550	-	348	63	833	253	459	73	-	125	23	11,093	-	41
Limerick	2,979	15,992	173,865	17,596	-	8,599	17,013	26,422	36,571	-	8,780	-	-	2,153	-	2,345
Londonderry	1,154	1,254	-	-	-	623	281	521	1,206	-	-	-	-	3,075,374	5,341	17,277
Newport		131	9,654	-	-	-	71	2	699	-	-	-	-	319,200	-	222
Newry	1,503	-	114	-	-	80	499	23,507	4,746	101	3,297	3,025	2,430	3,048,971	2,859	12,078
Roſs	920	1,861	12,806	1,563	103	-	2,671	3,178	1,429	-	15,924	585	269			
Sligo	1,172	-	37,886	-	-	1,334	3,397	9,325	5,660	530	1,488	-	-	91,706	-	3,650
Strangford		-	1,070	3,536	300	1,840	-	2	-	-	-	564	80	114,573		
Tralee	734			-	-											
Waterford	3,107	12,264	196,505	32,013	4,867	4,064	9,719	96,719	25,457	190	220,524	98	731	16,676	-	85
Wexford	1,340	1,304	44,515	2,919	100	2	156	-	73	15	8,101	3,120	149	607		
Wicklow	228	-	772	40	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	14				
Youghal	1,223	18,961	108,645	2,222	-	2,521	115	7,236	2,425	-	12	-	20			
Totals	41,686	62,790	723,730	66,634	6,869	33,287	110,218	321,871	170,289	5,830	291,019	26,351	17,345	40,901,442	152,424	72,398

Note, the numbers of houſes in the ſecond column are taken, with the exception of that of Dublin, from the returns made to Parliament by the Hearthmoney collectors in the year 1800. They are probably, in moſt caſes, below the truth: in ſome, they have been found to be conſiderably ſo. Thus, for inſtance, Dr. Patterſon found 1,458 houſes in Londonderry, which is 304, or upwards of 1-4th more than returned; and in the year 1791, there were found, according to Dr. Beaufort, by accurate enumeration, 3,107 houſes in Belfaſt; which is 54 more than returned in 1800; though, between theſe two years, the houſes of Belfaſt have obviouſly increaſed conſiderably. This remark is ſtill further confirmed by careful enumerations of the houſes in ſeveral of the inland towns. Bandon and Kilkenny have been found to contain a vaſt many more than returned. In the year firſt mentioned, there were no returns made of the houſes in Dublin or Cork. The number oppoſite the former is taken from Dr. Whitelaw's correct ſurvey. In about 2-5ths of the area of the city of Cork, excluſive of the liberties thereof, there were lately found, by a moſt accurate ſurvey, 2,794 inhabited houſes, containing 23,924 ſouls.

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No. IX.

ACCOUNT of the New and Old DRAPERY, WOOL, YARN, HIDES and KELP, exported from, and imported into IRELAND, at different Periods, since the Year 1700: also of the COTTON WOOL and YARN imported since the 25th March 1783.

EXPORTED.

3 Years ending 25 Mar.	New Drapery.	Annual Average.	Old Drapery.	Annual Average	Woollen Yarn.	Worsted Yarn.	Wool.	Annual Average of Yarn and Wool.
	Pieces.	Pieces.	Yards.	Yards.	Stones.	Stones.	Stones.	Stones.
1702	60	20	12	4	38,176	55,477	954,577	349,410
	Yards	Yards						
1712	2,018	672	1,113	371	59,541	94,186	842,753	332,160
1722	16,484	5,494	1,094	364	57,119	143,072	365,159	188,450
1732	10,077 & pieces 63	3,692 21	-	-	55,698	171,400	63,762	96,953
1742	8,893 & pieces 71	2,964 23	-	-	39,170	183,818	119,881	114,289
1752	-	-	-	-	73,230	367,614	169,287	203,377
1762	-	-	-	-	29,778	291,228	12,545	111,183
1772	-	-	-	-	13,699	367,134	6,741	129,191
1782	632,119	210,706	8,867	2,955	1,891	250,558	6,234	86,227
1792	1,056,909	352,309	32,066	10,688	-	131,681	6,392	46,024
5th Jan. 1802	54,086	18,028	6,022	2,007	5	31,889	1,362	11,085
2 years 1808	33,536	16,687	4,562	2,286	1,254	20,542	37,525	29,660

IMPORTED.

Years ending 25 Mar.	Wool Spanish.	Wool not Spanish.	Yarn.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1797	28,042	224	1,440
1798	24,752	70	990
1799	27,412	42	2,213
1800	84,994	112	2,438
5th Jan. 1801	40,600	6,328	1,045
1802	39,816	12,880	17,181
1803	29,932	40,796	5,156
1805	9,212	7,168	13,174
1806	31,304	4,284	26,568
	15,876	6,160	48,635

IMPORTED.

Year ending 5th Mar.	Cotton. Wool.	Cotton. Yarn.
	cwts.	lbs.
1784	—	3,340
1785	5,223	4,712
1786	7,260	22,188
1787	8,977	37,945
1788	10,728	45,015
1789	13,565	83,814
1790	11 911	77,687
1791	14,649	205,515
1792	10,234	298,351
1793	20,503	325,042
1794	7,533	173,717
1795	14,206	313,973
1796	13,167	587,314
1797	14,151	681,318
1798	6,667	190,685
1799	12,130	508,038
1800	14,853	976,466
25th Jan. 1801	12,632	459,120
1802	10,716	375,597
1803	18,378	1,105,877
1804	13,899	809,914
1805	18,183	1,149,004
1806	16,734	1,459,905
1807	18,429	1,060,334
1808	32,851	570,356

IMPORTED.

3 Years ending 25 Mar.	New Drapery.	Annual average.	Old Drapery.	Annual average.
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1702	87,988	29,329	47,363	15,787
1712	53,282	17,760	29,281	9,760
1722	253,893	84,631	56,179	18,726
1732	55,001	18,333	49,381	16,463
1742	134,939	44,646	52,616	17,538
1752	469,845	156,615	176,368	58,789
1762	571,284	190,428	538,143	179,381
1772	1,139,298	379,766	620,627	206,875
1782	1,139,968	379,989	753,754	251,251
1792	1,538,060	512,686	2,217,321	739,107
5th Jan. 1802	3,232,414	1,077,471	4,422,000	1,474,000
2 years 5th Jan. 1808	1,576,374	788,187	3,018,637	1,509,318

EXPORTED.

Hides tanned.	Annual average	Hides untanned.	Annual average	Kelp.	Annual average
No.	No.	No.	No.	Tons.	Tons.
69,805	23,268	195,545	65,181	355	118
142,133	47,377	221,783	73,929	592	197
181,190	60,396	199,743	66,581	1,876	625
175,849	58,616	217,793	72,597	2,256	752
155,550	51,850	196,576	65,525	2,611	870
153,457	51,152	244,240	81,080	2,228	742
177,323	59,107	233,894	77,964	2,426	808
134,903	44,967	291,952	97,317	3,806	1,268
20,318	6,772	221,929	73,976	2,196	732
6,169	2,056	207,124	69,031	6,657	2,219
802	267	121,447	40,482	5,335	1,778
2,123	1,061	62,427	31,213	8,364	4,182

EXPORTED.

Years ending 5th Jan.	Cotton. Wool.	Cotton. Yarn.
	cwts.	lbs.
1807	1,471	6,517
1808	378	5,633

APPENDIX.

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ACCOUNT of the PRODUCTS of the LAND and LABOUR of IRELAND, exported in the Year ending 5th January 1804, with the CURRENT VALUE of the same: also the OFFICIAL and CURRENT VALUE, in different Years, of several of the more prominent of these.

PRODUCTS.		LAND. Quantity.	Rate of Value. £.	s.	d.	Value. £.	s.	d.
Bacon — Hams	cwts.	3,955	4	4	0	16,611	0	0
Bacon — Flitches	No.	114,382	2	18	0	331,707	16	0
Beef	bls.	79,347	4	11	6	363,012	10	6
Carcasses	No.	19	10	0	0	190	0	0
Bullocks and Cows	No.	28,522	9	14	0	276,663	8	0
Butter	cwts.	334,251	5	2	0	1,704,680	2	0
Feathers	cwts.	2,364	10	0	0	23,640	0	0
Hogs	No.	12,976	2	15	0	35,684	0	0
Hog's-lard	cwts.	7,028	5	0	0	35,140	0	0
Hides untanned	No.	28,304	1	10	0	42,456	0	0
Horses	No.	3,601	18	0	0	64,818	0	0
Pork	bls.	119,049	4	13	0	553,577	17	0
Sheep	No.	7,482	1	15	0	13,093	10	0
Tallow	cwts.	9,827	3	16	0	37,342	12	0
Corn — Barley	bls.	32,869	0	13	0	21,363	11	0
Corn — Beans	bls.	2,349	0	18	0	2,114	2	0
Corn — Malt	bls.	50	0	15	0	37	10	0
Corn — Oats	bls.	391,102	0	14	0	273,771	8	0
Corn — Peas	bls.	1,064	1	0	0	1,064	0	0
Corn — Rye	bls.	1,121	1	0	0	1,121	0	0
Corn — Wheat	bls.	101,901	1	10	0	152,851	10	0
Bread	cwts.	4,474	1	2	0	4,921	8	0
Meal — Flour	cwts.	43,143	0	16	0	34,514	8	0
Meal — Oatmeal	cwts.	76,619	0	14	0	53,663	6	0
Rape Seed	qu.	2,173	2	5	0	4,899	5	0
Aquavitæ	galls.	930,800	0	1	11	89,201	13	4
Ale	bls.	1,295	1	6	0	1,683	10	0
Beer	bls.	5,480	1	6	0	7,124	0	0
Kelp	tons.	4,251	5	0	0	21,255	0	0
Copper	tons.	1,807	10	0	0	18,070	0	0
Lead	tons.	142	23	10	0	3,337	0	0
Skins, potatoes, fish, &c.		-		-		69,025	8	0
Total Value of the Products of Land						4,252,284	7	8

PRODUCTS.		LABOUR. Quantity.	Rate of Value each. £.	s.	d.	Value. £.	s.	d.
Linen plain	yds.	37,432,365	0	2	0	3,734,226	10	0
coloured	yds.	137,489	0	1	3	8,593	1	3
Linen Yarn	cwts.	7,847	8	10	0	66,699	10	0
Worsted Yarn	stones.	7,939	2	10	0	19,847	10	0
Candles	cwts.	8,447	4	18	0	41,390	6	0
Soap	cwts.	7,119	3	5	0	23,136	15	0
Manufactures above the Value of 4000l. and below the Value of 12,000l.								
Glass of all Sorts						11,605	8	10
Books						5,935	10	4
Gunpowder						4,693	10	0
Glue						4,254	0	0
Rape Oil						6,350	8	0
Flax dreft						8,960	0	0
Stationary						4,395	13	11
Total Value of the Products of Labour						£ 3,949,088	4	4
Products of Land						£ 4,252,284	7	8
						£ 8,201,372	12	0
Total Value of small Articles excluded						40,115	7	9½
Total						£ 8,241,487	19	9½
Value of foreign Merchandise exported						£ 141,301	0	0

OFFICIAL VALUE.			CURRENT VALUE. 1799. £.	s.	d.	1800. £.	s.	d.	1803. £.	s.	d.
Hams	cwts.	1 10 0	2	1	6½	2	5	0	3	15	0
Flitches	each	0 15 0	1	12	3	1	15	0	2	0	0
Beef	bl.	1 15 0	3	19	2	3	15	0	4	11	0
Carcasses	each	5 0 0	4	12	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
Bread	cwts.	0 12 0	0	18	5½	1	0	0	1	2	0
Butter	cwts.	2 2 6	3	4	7½	3	10	0	4	12	0
Barley	bl.	0 12 0	0	13	10	0	15	0	0	14	0
Oats	bl.	0 7 6	0	10	6½	0	11	0	0	10	0
Wheat	bl.	1 7 0	1	7	8½	1	10	0	1	13	0
Pork	bl.	1 10 0	3	4	7½	3	15	0	5	0	0
Aquavitæ	gal.	0 3 0	0	5	1	0	5	6	0	2	2
Linen plain	yd.	0 1 4	0	1	5½	0	1	7	0	2	0

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No. IX.

ACCOUNT of the New and Old DRAPERY, WOOL, YARN, HIDES and KELP, exported from, and imported into IRELAND, at different Periods, since the Year 1700: also of the COTTON WOOL and YARN imported since the 25th March 1783.

EXPORTED.

3 Years ending 25 Mar.	New Drapery.	Annual Average.	Old Drapery.	Annual Average	Woollen Yarn.	Worsted Yarn.	Wool.	Annual Average of Yarn and Wool.
	Pieces.	Pieces.	Yards.	Yards.	Stones.	Stones.	Stones.	Stones.
1702	60	20	12	4	38,176	55,477	954,577	349,410
	Yards	Yards						
1712	2,018	672	1,113	371	59,541	94,186	842,753	332,160
1722	16,484	5,494	1,094	364	57,119	143,072	365,159	188,450
1732	10,077 & pieces 63	3,692 21	-	-	55,698	171,400	63,762	96,953
1742	8,893 & pieces 71	2,964 23	-	-	39,170	183,818	119,881	114,289
1752	-	-	-	-	73,230	367,614	169,287	203,377
1762	-	-	-	-	29,778	291,228	12,545	111,183
1772	-	-	-	-	13,699	367,134	6,741	129,191
1782	632,119	210,706	8,867	2,955	1,891	250,558	6,234	86,227
1792	1,056,909	352,309	32,066	10,688	-	131,681	6,392	46,024
5th Jan. 1802	54,086	18,028	6,022	2,007	5	31,889	1,362	11,085
2 years 1808	33,536	16,687	4,562	2,286	1,254	20,542	37,525	29,660

IMPORTED.

Years ending 25 Mar.	Wool Spanish.	Wool not Spanish.	Yarn.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1797	28,042	224	1,440
1798	24,752	70	990
1799	27,412	42	2,213
1800	84,994	112	2,438
5th Jan. 1801	40,600	6,328	1,045
1802	39,816	12,880	17,181
1803	29,932	40,796	5,156
1805	9,212	7,168	13,174
1806	31,304	4,284	26,568
	15,876	6,160	48,635

Year ending 5th Mar.	Cotton. Wool.	Cotton. Yarn.
	cwts.	lbs.
1784	—	3,340
1785	5,223	4,712
1786	7,260	22,188
1787	8,977	37,945
1788	10,728	45,015
1789	13,565	83,814
1790	11 911	77,687
1791	14,649	205,515
1792	10,234	298,351
1793	20,503	325,042
1794	7,533	173,717
1795	14,206	313,973
1796	13,167	587,314
1797	14,151	681,318
1798	6,667	190,685
1799	12,130	508,038
1800	14,853	976,466
25th Jan. 1801	12,632	459,120
1802	10,716	375,597
1803	18,378	1,105,877
1804	13,899	809,914
1805	18,183	1,149,004
1806	16,734	1,459,905
1807	18,429	1,060,334
1808	32,851	570,356

IMPORTED.

3 Years ending 25 Mar.	New Drapery.	Annual average.	Old Drapery.	Annual average.
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1702	87,988	29,329	47,363	15,787
1712	53,282	17,760	29,281	9,760
1722	253,893	84,631	56,179	18,726
1732	55,001	18,333	49,381	16,463
1742	134,939	44,646	52,616	17,538
1752	469,845	156,615	176,368	58,789
1762	571,284	190,428	538,143	179,381
1772	1,139,298	379,766	620,627	206,875
1782	1,139,968	379,989	753,754	251,251
1792	1,538,060	512,686	2,217,321	739,107
5th Jan. 1802	3,232,414	1,077,471	4,422,000	1,474,000
2 years 5th Jan. 1808	1,576,374	788,187	3,018,637	1,509,318

EXPORTED.

Hides tanned.	Annual average	Hides untanned.	Annual average	Kelp.	Annual average
No.	No.	No.	No.	Tons.	Tons.
69,805	23,268	195,545	65,181	355	118
142,133	47,377	221,783	73,929	592	197
181,190	60,396	199,743	66,581	1,876	625
175,849	58,616	217,793	72,597	2,256	752
155,550	51,850	196,576	65,525	2,611	870
153,457	51,152	244,240	81,080	2,228	742
177,323	59,107	233,894	77,964	2,426	808
134,903	44,967	291,952	97,317	3,806	1,268
20,318	6,772	221,929	73,976	2,196	732
6,169	2,056	207,124	69,031	6,657	2,219
802	267	121,447	40,482	5,335	1,778
2,123	1,061	62,427	31,213	8,364	4,182

EXPORTED.

Years ending 5th Jan.	Cotton. Wool.	Cotton. Yarn.
	cwts.	lbs.
1807	1,471	6,517
1808	378	5,633

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ACCOUNT of the PRODUCTS of the LAND and LABOUR of IRELAND, exported in the Year ending 5th January 1804, with the CURRENT VALUE of the same: also the OFFICIAL and CURRENT VALUE, in different Years, of several of the more prominent of these.

PRODUCTS.		LAND. Quantity.	Rate of Value. £. s. d.	Value. £. s. d.
Bacon { Hams	cwts.	3,955	4 4 0	16,611 0 0
Bacon { Flitches	No.	114,382	2 18 0	331,707 16 0
Beef	bls.	79,347	4 11 6	363,012 10 6
Carcasses	No.	19	10 0 0	190 0 0
Bullocks and Cows	No.	28,522	9 14 0	276,663 8 0
Butter	cwts.	334,251	5 2 0	1,704,680 2 0
Feathers	cwts.	2,364	10 0 0	23,640 0 0
Hogs	No.	12,976	2 15 0	35,684 0 0
Hog's-lard	cwts.	7,028	5 0 0	35,140 0 0
Hides untanned	No.	28,304	1 10 0	42,456 0 0
Horses	No.	3,601	18 0 0	64,818 0 0
Pork	bls.	119,049	4 13 0	553,577 17 0
Sheep	No.	7,482	1 15 0	13,093 10 0
Tallow	cwts.	9,827	3 16 0	37,342 12 0
Corn { Barley	bls.	32,869	0 13 0	21,363 11 0
Corn { Beans	bls.	2,349	0 18 0	2,114 2 0
Corn { Malt	bls.	50	0 15 0	37 10 0
Corn { Oats	bls.	391,102	0 14 0	273,771 8 0
Corn { Peas	bls.	1,064	1 0 0	1,064 0 0
Corn { Rye	bls.	1,121	1 0 0	1,121 0 0
Corn { Wheat	bls.	101,901	1 10 0	152,851 10 0
Bread	cwts.	4,474	1 2 0	4,921 8 0
Meal { Flour	cwts.	43,143	0 16 0	34,514 8 0
Meal { Oatmeal	cwts.	76,619	0 14 0	53,663 6 0
Rape Seed	qu.	2,173	2 5 0	4,899 5 0
Aquavitæ	galls.	930,800	0 1 11	89,201 13 4
Ale	bls.	1,295	1 6 0	1,683 10 0
Beer	bls.	5,480	1 6 0	7,124 0 0
Kelp	tons.	4,251	5 0 0	21,255 0 0
Copper	tons.	1,807	10 0 0	18,070 0 0
Lead	tons.	142	23 10 0	3,337 0 0
Skins, potatoes, fish, &c.		-	-	69,025 8 0
Total Value of the Products of Land			-	4,252,284 7 8

PRODUCTS.		LABOUR. Quantity.	Rate of Value each. £. s. d.	Value. £. s. d.
Linen plain	yds.	37,432,365	0 2 0	3,734,226 10 0
coloured	yds.	137,489	0 1 3	8,593 1 3
Linen Yarn	cwts.	7,847	8 10 0	66,699 10 0
Worsted Yarn	stones.	7,939	2 10 0	19,847 10 0
Candles	cwts.	8,447	4 18 0	41,390 6 0
Soap	cwts.	7,119	3 5 0	23,136 15 0
Manufactures above the Value of 4000l. and below the Value of 12,000l.				
Glass of all Sorts				11,605 8 10
Books				5,935 10 4
Gunpowder				4,693 10 0
Glue				4,254 0 0
Rape Oil				6,350 8 0
Flax dress				8,960 0 0
Stationary				4,395 13 11
Total Value of the Products of Labour				£ 3,949,088 4 4
Products of Land				£ 4,252,284 7 8
				£ 8,201,372 12 0
Total Value of small Articles excluded				40,115 7 9½
Total				£ 8,241,487 19 9½
Value of foreign Merchandise exported				£ 141,301 0 0

OFFICIAL VALUE.			CURRENT VALUE. 1799. £. s. d.	1800. £. s. d.	1803. £. s. d.
Hams	cwts.	1 10 0	2 1 6½	2 5 0	3 15 0
Flitches	each	0 15 0	1 12 3	1 15 0	2 0 0
Beef	bl.	1 15 0	3 19 2	3 15 0	4 11 0
Carcasses	each	5 0 0	4 12 3	5 0 0	0 0 0
Bread	cwts.	0 12 0	0 18 5½	1 0 0	1 2 0
Butter	cwts.	2 2 6	3 4 7½	3 10 0	4 12 0
Barley	bl.	0 12 0	0 13 10	0 15 0	0 14 0
Oats	bl.	0 7 6	0 10 6½	0 11 0	0 10 0
Wheat	bl.	1 7 0	1 7 8½	1 10 0	1 13 0
Pork	bl.	1 10 0	3 4 7½	3 15 0	5 0 0
Aquavitæ	gal.	0 3 0	0 5 1	0 5 6	0 2 2
Linen plain	yd.	0 1 4	0 1 5½	0 1 7	0 2 0

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No. XI.

TRADE of IRELAND with GREAT BRITAIN and the reſt of the World during Ten Years, ending 25th March 1782: alſo an Account of the COAL, COTTONS, CORN, &c. imported into, and exported from IRELAND in different Years.

	Official Value of Goods exported.					Official Value of Goods imported.			
	Iriſh Produce and Manufactures.		Foreign Goods.						
Yearsending 25 March.	to Great Britain and Britiſh Colonies.	to the reſt of the World.	to Great Britain and Britiſh Colonies.	to the reſt of the World.	Total.	from Great Britain and Britiſh Colonies.	from the reſt of the World.	Total.	Balance.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1773	2,447,028	524,317			2,971,345	1,850,613	567,000	2,417,613	553,732
1774	2,357,067	444,075	20,619	10,682	2,832,443	1,858,558	599,473	2,458,031	374,412
1775	2,623,659	492,054	22,909	4,414	3,143,036	1,924,759	583,655	2,508,414	634,622
1776	2,801,299	438,097	14,710	6,640	3,260,746	2,042,866	611,691	2,654,557	606,189
1777	2,845,744	258,694	37,929	5,763	3,148,130	2,363,813	760,114	3,123,927	24,203
1778	9,991,876	239,358	32,939	4,280	3,268,453	2,158,160	678,641	2,836,801	431,652
1779	2,477,796	224,247	19,885	5,185	2,727,113	1,715,806	480,128	2,195,934	531,179
1780	2,682,636	320,614	6,513	2,414	3,012,177	1,601,777	515,801	2,117,578	894,599
1781	2,522,293	358,136	12,437	3,167	2,896,033	2,475,693	647,337	3,123,030	226,997 *
1782	3,044,104	331,587	12,212	10,693	3,398,596	2,425,076	569,188	2,994,264	404,332
Total - - - -			180,153	53,238					
				180,153	Annual average Export of foreign Goods.				
			Both	233,381					
				£. s. d.					
				25,931 4 5⅓					

* Unfavourable.

Imported from Great Britain into Ireland.					Sugar Imported.		Exported.
Yearsending 5th January.	Coal.	Plain and coloured Cottons.	Old and New Drapery.	Hardware.	Direct from Weſt Indies.		
	Tons.	Value.	Yards.	Value. £. s. d.	3 Years.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1801	346,881	£118,028			to 1799	137,215	29,434
1802	315,345	121,555			1806	406,172	1,388
1803	346,105	223,966			inclusive.		
1804	417,030	143,228			From all Places.		
1805	438,721	145,301			1 Year		
1806	412,515	165,817			5th Jan.		
1807	476,148	113,846			1808.	324,477	
1808	491,239	116,837	2,462,598	265,534 12 4			

Exported to Great Britain from Ireland.										
		Beef.	Butter.	Bacon.	Pork.	Oats.	Barley.	Wheat.	Kelp.	Linen, plain.
Year ending 5th January 1808.	England	Barrels. 78,374	Cwts. 273,573	Flitches. No. 288,062	Barrels. 138,574	Barrels. 536,851	Barrels. 23,863	Barrels. 67,133	Tons. 3,690	Yards. 36,264,945
	Scotland	6,881	12,498	1,332	3,664	185,511	23,254	510	1,555	2,190,982
	Total	85,255	286,071	289,394	142,238	722,362	47,111	67,643	5,245	38,455,927

Total of Corn 837,122 Barrels.

Official Value of Foreign Goods exported from Ireland.		
Years ending 5th Jan.		Current Value of Iriſh Produce and Manufactures exported.
	£.	£.
1803	212,208	
1804	141,301	
1805	160,158	
1806	142,418	
1807	157,443	
1808	150,370	10,116,385
	About 1 to 67.	

Official Value of Foreign Goods exported from Great Britain.		
Year ending 5th Jan.		Current Value of Britiſh Produce and Manufactures.
	£	
1807	9,124,479	43,242,176
	About 3 to 14.	

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No. XII.

ACCOUNT of the Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS of IRELAND since the YEAR 1749; and likewise of the BRITISH SHIPPING employed in the IRISH Trade.

Years ending 25 Mar.	Exports. Official Value.	Annual Average.	Imports. Official Value.	Annual Average.	Balance favourable.	Balance unfavourable.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1750	1,862,833	1,890,706	1,531,654	1,605,374	285,332	
1751	1,932,803		1,591,795			
1752	1,876,482		1,692,673			
1760	2,139,388	2,285,746	1,647,592	1,696,764	588,982	
1761	2,279,926		1,527,903			
1762	2,438,926		1,914,798			
1770	3,159,386	3,302,576	2,566,844	2,415,785	886,791	
1771	3,481,318		2,492,616			
1772	3,266,822		2,187,895			
1780	3,012,178	3,094,635	2,127,579	2,748,291	346,344	
1781	2,896,035		3,123,031			
1782	3,375,692		2,994,265			
1790	4,855,319	5,061,913	3,829,914	4,079,906	982,007	
1791	4,942,661		4,071,794			
1792	5,387,760		4,338,012			
1800	4,079,271	4,100,526	6,183,457	5,591,503		1,490,977
5th Jan. 1801	3,819,062		5,584,596			
1802	4,403,247		5,006,457			
1806	5,202,385	5,282,909	5,982,194	6,075,358		792,449
1807	5,188,165		5,605,964			
1808	5,458,177		6,637,907			

British Shipping.	Annual Average.
Tons.	Tons.
173,522	190,658
188,629	
209,825	
207,355	216,018
235,098	
205,598	
310,819	308,690
297,988	
317,263	
300,922	320,089
339,470	
319,876	
482,156	484,430
436,721	
534,413	
498,845	458,861
389,034	
468,704	

Years ending 25th March.	Current Value of Irish Produce, &c. exported; Official Value of foreign Do.	Imported.	Balance favourable.	Balance unfavourable.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1796	6,894,167	6,418,375	475,792	
1797	6,285,748	6,219,767	65,981	
1798	6,133,177	4,761,796	1,371,381	
1799	6,380,456	6,162,391	218,065	
1800	5,881,329	8,182,500		2,271,171
¾ 5th Jan. 1801	5,281,881	7,774,779		2,492,898
1802				
1803	8,571,412	7,654,113	917,299	
Irish Produce and Manufactures.				
1804	8,241,487			
Foreign	141,301			
1805				
Foreign	160,158			
1806	8,436,933			
Foreign	142,418			
1807	9,314,854			
Foreign	157,443			
1808	10,116,385			
Foreign	150,370			

The current Value was not estimated for any other Years than the foregoing.

CLEARED OUTWARDS.

	British.			Irish.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1805	5,013	507,177	28,337	1,080	82,934	5,013
1806	5,442	535,761	30,648	1,172	90,173	6,077
1807	5,888	574,688	32,441	1,353	97,162	6,754
1808	6,294	615,702	34,631	1,320	97,856	6,797

ENTERED INWARDS.

	British.			Irish.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1805	6,242	610,618	33,553	1,243	90,541	6,116
1806	6,139	580,752	33,775	1,276	91,290	6,230
1807	6,687	630,368	36,818	1,497	102,163	7,049
1808	6,836	652,946	36,539	1,503	107,703	7,231

BRITISH SHIPPING entered Inwards in the several PORTS of ENGLAND from all Parts of the World, Year ending 5th January 1807.

Ships.	Tons.	Men.		Ships.	Tons.	Men.
9,456	1,239,528	72,777	of which from Ireland,	5,107	462,197	26,649

BRITISH SHIPPING cleared Outwards same Year.

Ships.	Tons.	Men.		Ships.	Tons.	Men.
9,789	1,258,903	78,596	of which for Ireland,	5,300	469,939	26,041

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No. XIII.

TABLE, Shewing the Quantities of FOREIGN SPIRITS, ALE, and BEER, imported since the Year 1700, in Periods of four Years: also the Quantities of Home-made SPIRITS, STRONG and SMALL BEER, which paid Duty; the former since the Year 1720, the latter since the Year 1748.

IMPORT.			HOME MADE.			ANNUAL AVERAGE.				
Four Years,	Foreign Spirits.	Ale and Beer.	Spirits which paid Duty.	Strong Beer which paid Duty.	Small Beer, which paid Duty.	Average annual Import of Foreign Spirits.	Average annual Quantity of Home-made Spirits which paid Duty.	Average annual Import of Beer and Ale.	Average annual Quantity of Home made Strong Beer.	Average annual Quantity of Home made small Beer.
Ending Dec. 25.	Gallons.	Barrels. Ale. Beer.	Gallons.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
1704	500,414	1,141 —	-	-	-	125,103	-	285	-	-
3¼ to Mar. 25.										
1708	377,444	503 —	-	-	-	94,361	-	125	-	-
1712	665,356	238 59	-	-	-	166,339	-	74	-	-
1716	1,069,116	380 51	-		-	267,279	-	107	-	-
1720	1,203,127	883 259	-		-	300,781	-	285	-	-
1724	1,474,795	557 598	522,996		-	368,698	130,749	288	-	-
1728	1,489,398	701 407	677,511		-	372,349	169,377	277	-	-
1732	1,506,466	3,289 584	622,867		-	376,616	155,716	968	-	-
1736	1,782,797	2,474 610	899,004		-	445,699	224,251	771	-	-
1740	2,004,414	3,657 1,897	896,443		-	501,103	224,110	1,338	-	-
1744	1,997,352	17,229 770	1,276,954		-	499,338	319,233	4,499	-	-
1748	1,524,852	7,090 24,527	1,720,249		-	381,213	430,062	7,904	-	-
		Both.								
1752	3,113,234	59,843	2,358,199	2,415,668	927,910	778,308	589,549	14,985	603,917	231,977
1756	4,795,595	70,945	2,162,731	2,275,597	801,084	1,198,898	540,682	17,986	568,899	200,271
1760	3,617,320	56,237	1,137,013	1,986,123	710,788	904,330	284,253	14,059	496,530	177,[illegible]
1764	5,362,733	87,878	2,454,709	2,447,482	695,705	1,340,685	613,677	21,969	611,870	173,926
1768	9,676,473	130,256	2,377,473	2,234,628	578,804	2,419,118	594,368	32,564	558,657	144,701
1772	10,427,723	175,730	3,125,330	1,904,084	563,372	2,606,930	781,332	43,932	476,021	140,843
1776	8,530,248	231,529	4,126,748	1,832,032	461,842	2,132,562	1,031,687	57,882	458,008	115,460
1780	6,424,610	231,898	4,568,918	1,818,754	528,870	1,606,152	1,142,229	57,974	454,688	132,217
1784	3,999,611	226,567	7,072,169	1,839,443	708,552	999,902	1,768,042	56,641	459,861	177,138
1788	5,631,997	246,880	7,489,947	1,552,527	680,750	1,407,999	1,872,486	61,720	388,131	170,187
1792	4,654,436	426,771	12,756,552	1,822,799	823,609	1,163,609	3,189,133	106,692	455,699	215,902
1796	2,067,659	332,448	15,339,513			516,914	3,834,878	83,112	-	
1800	757,729	162,981	16,525,813	No return made, subsequently to this period.	No return made, subsequently to this period.		4,131,453	40,745	-	
3¾ to Jan. 5.						1,148,760	3,016,815	9,504	-	
1804	4,595,041	38,016	12,067,262							
Two Years,				Computed on the quantity of malt permitted to Brewers.	Computed on the quantity of malt permitted to Brewers.					
ending Jan. 5.										
1806	529,391	5,303	7,367,983	1,320,682	414,288	264,695	3,683,996	2650	660,341	207,[illegible]
1808	813,971	4,627¼	9,635,987	1,501,453	566,402	406,985	4,817,993	2,313	750,726	283,[illegible]
One Year,										
1808	467,057	2,128	5,704,185	751,146	283,452	-	-	-	-	-

Foreign Spirits exported 1807, - 61,583 Gallons.
1808, - 24,872 Do.

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No. XIV.

ACCOUNT of the Quantity of MALT made in IRELAND since the Commencement of the Duty thereon: also of the Quantity of BEER and ALE imported since the Year ended 25th March 1786; and also of the successive Duties on MALT and SPIRITS, &c.

Years.	Malt made since the Commencement of the Duty.	Duty per Barrel.	Strong Beer and Ale imported.	Home-made Spirits which paid Duty.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.	Amount of the Produce of Excise Duty on Spirits.	Illicit Stills seized.	Legal Stills, with their Contents, as returned to Parliament.		Quantity of Home-made Spirits exported.
Ended 25th Mar.	Barrels.	s. d.	Barrels.	Gallons.	s. d.	£	No.	No. Stills.	Gallons.	Gallons.
1786	887,885	2 6	55,283	-	-	-	-	238	119,072	-
1787	892,175	-	68,493	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1788	931,200	-	74,725	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1789	994,304	-	91,009	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1790	929,335	-	109,049	See Table,	-	-	-	168	86,55	-
1791	1,174,301	-	101,655	No. XIII.	-	-	-	-	-	-
1792	1,216,970	-	125,059	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1793	1,191,884	-	125,057	-	-	-	-	-	-	429
1794	2,284,378	-	76,255	-	-	-	-	-	-	135
1795	1,242,097	3 3	72,398	-	-	-	-	214	126,016	1,011
1796	1,197,033	5 3	55,738	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,216
1797	1,263,147	-	67,188	3,867,174	1 6	-	-	-	-	58,615
1798	1,190,875	-	50,919	4,783,954	-	-	-	Dublin 30, of 883 gallons on		2,866
1799	1,124,827	6 0	25,178	4,253,187	2 $3\frac{8}{13}$	-	-	an average each.		4,055
1800	843,900	-	19,709	3,621,498	2 6	549,492	-	-	-	3,152
¼ 5th Jan.										
1801	173,634	6 6	14,428	1,353,403	-	180,169	-	-	-	2,770
1802	664,430	-	10,495	1,482,578	3 $9\frac{1}{2}$	270,284	-	-	-	227,519
*1803	920,383	-	9,884	4,805,196	-	846,335	4,131	-	-	1,130,019
1804	905,649	-	3,209	4,426,085	-	762,461†	2,573	-	-	930,800
1805	715,479	-	3,143	3,611,312	4 5	736,757	2,360	-	-	1,196,569
1806	705,114	10 10	2,160 Ale.	3,756,671	-	713,074	2,974	-	-	1,044,548
1807	717,232	-	2,499	3,931,829	-	785,814	1,401	-	-	531,648
1808	604,561	-	2,125	5,704,158	-	1,236,244	-	-	-	648,706

* The malt was returned to 25th March, till the beginning of the year 1803.

Beer exported 1807 4,487
1808 4,630

† From 29th Sept. 1803, to 29th Sept. 1804.

Amount of the Bounties of 8l. and 16l. paid to Distillers using large Stills.

From September 29,	£.	s.	d.
1803, to do. 1804	200,285	17	10
1805	100,892	19	4
1806	87,407	14	$3\frac{1}{2}$
1807	90,953	6	6
Christ. quarter, 1807	25,590	12	$0\frac{1}{2}$

Bounty on export, 4d. per gallon, when barley does not exceed 13s. 6d. the barrel. 44 G. 3. c. 26.

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No. XV.

Ordinary Revenue of Ireland. Gross Receipt.							Expenditure.				
Two Years.	Arrears and Balances.	Customs, Excise, Loan Duties, &c.	Carriage Duty.	Hearth-money, included in the foregoing Columns.	Stamps.	Post Office.	Civil Establishment, including Pensions.	Pensions.	Military Establishment.	Total Expenditure, including Extraordinaries, Parliamentary Grants, Annuities, &c.	National Debt.
End. Mar. 25	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	C. E. £.	P. £.	£.	£.	£.
1781	226,880	1,863,057	4,629	123,301	53,660	-	328,502	85,456	920,224	1,883,178	1,554,125†
1783	250,757	2,227,947	7,664	125,824	69,458	-	343,635	91,375	898,620	2,239,783	2,034,953†
One Year, End. Mar. 25								93,252			
1784	253,121	1,227,397	4,917	61,309	34,580	-	174,918		429,686	1,238,061	1,997,417†
1785	192,888	1,213,801	5,084	61,380	38,512	27,512	187,145	97,366	480,727	1,068,729	2,157,031†
1786	252,365	1,440,324	6,412	64,106	54,381	42,440	193,272	96 881	504,320	1,236,328	2,300,671†
1787	379,868	1,343,963	9,996	63,425	49,983	44,336	197,727	104,844	501,289	1,384,933	2,296,706†
1788	286,044	1,460,300	11,020	66,750	57,172	44,268	197,515	101,565	506,047	1,383,022	2,362,847†
1789	287,076	1,464,787	12,654	70,625	58,606	46,635	206,174	99,870	535,093	1,406,270	2,477,425†
1790	310,485	1,497,862	16,752	71,909	62,377	46,419	207,808	102,129	535,086	1,436,164	2,244,652†
1791	287,906	1,560,116	17,957	76,983	61,644	50,209	206,389	101,936	536,331	1,490,624	2,271,280†
1792	284,236	1,590,543	17,987	77,358	63,341	52,245	208,430	104,495	541,351	1,448,734	2,240,637†
1793	311,725	1,502,542	17,784	78,996	66,120	55,666	213,753	122,760	586,078	1,592,767	2,219,694†
1794	299,472	1,435,261	17,553	70,274	67,027	59,122	214,666	120,172	978,818	2,028,055	3,760,508†
1795	298,523	1,749,660	18,414	69,725	93,664	60,799	267,760	119,075	1,362,385	2,635,302	4,206,313†
1796	320,986	2,099,442	23,603	44,386	89,190	67,763	265,172	116,683	1,804,376	3,455,671	5,958,591†
1797	652,737	1,947,690	22,998	38,104	109,035	68,256	264,075	114,444	1,891,967	3,689,484	9,413,501†
1798	608,189	2,057,215	24,623	40,249	101,265	78,755	261,683	113,819	3,612,424	5,476,637	11,732,299†
1799	372,397	2,528,527	43,760	45,078	102,134	79,471	259,444	168,403	3,430,596	7,086,635	13,427,026†
1800	765,979	3,192,123	51,622	61,777	169,555	84,040	258,819	172,405	4,965,122	7,023,166*	25,293,679†
Fr. Mar. 25. to Jan. 1.											
1801	668,613	2,095,733	22,356	49,594	141,165	66,032	183,000	75,348	2,740,189	4,829,134	31,950,656†
to Jan. 5.											
1802	596,234	2,706,311	14,295	32,933	211,432	108,293	275,639	113,765	3,907,674	9,077,180	34,911,838‡
1803	494,689	3,906,179	31,450	76,808	211,427	102,518	249,836	118,076	2,780,619	7,806,504	39,541,258‡
1804	664,179	3,390,423	22,110	52,110	216,443	108,844	252,698	105,724	2,861,005	7,779,015	43,019,325‡
1805	520,181	3,610,744	22,231	52,863	394,537	118,429	290,731	128,233	4,318,420	9,769,013	53,296,356‡
1806	427,641	3,545,289	12,568	20,623	501,943	146,682	254,029	96,914	3,908,261	8,713,924	58,344,690‡
1807	310,266	3,941,413	41,759	74,915	572,127	149,857	227,249	93,250	4,050,162	8,537,653	64,721,356‡
1808	325,231	4,798,766	30,160	67,843	594,154	158,749	239,281	89,639	3,929,878	8,566,165	70,647,783‡

Rate, per centum, at which the Customs and Excise of Ireland were collected, on an average of 7 years ended in 1787.
£14 15 1½d

Rate at which the gross Revenue, arising from Customs and Excise, was collected in the year ended Jan. 5. 1808.

Customs,	£9	14	11½
Excise,	8	0	10½
Average	£8	17	11 3/16

Rate, per centum, at which the gross Revenue of Great Britain was collected, in the year ending Jan. 1808.

Customs, -	£5	2	8
Excise, -	2	17	7
Stamps, -	3	3	3
Post Office, -	21	12	0
Average, -	£8	3	10½

The Carriage Duty and Hearth Money were payable before March 25, in the first period; they were brought forward in the second.

Rate of Collection, year ended Jan. 5. 1808	Rate of Collection, year ended Jan. 5. 1808.
£5 2 9½	£46 8 9½

Funded Debt of Ireland, from March 25, 1784, according to a return presented to Parliament.

1784	-	£1,527,600
1785	-	1,490,920
1786	-	1,584,540
1787	-	1,768,240
1788	-	1,718,240
1789, 1790, 1791, 1792	-	1,718,240
1793	-	1,760,740
1794	-	2,134,140
1795	-	3,185,990
1796	-	4,841,856
1797	-	5,825,056
1798	-	10,128,906
1799	-	16,508,790
5th Jan.	-	24,207,290
1800	-	30,109,056

Issues for local purposes, included in the above.

Years, ended Jan. 5.	
1802	£20,682
1803	10,432
1804	19,539
1805	38,599
1806	18,783
1807	24,672
1808	15,110

Unfunded Debt of Ireland, year ended Jan. 5, 1808.
£429,557

Annual Interest, Management, &c. of the Funded Debt of Ireland.

£.	s.	d.
3,409,992	13	3½

Interest, &c. payable in London.

£.	s.	d.
2,187,822	4	4½

Debt payable in London.

£.	s.	d.
53,126,260	8	4

* Exclusive of annuities.
† Net Funded Debt from the Papers of the Accountant General.
‡ Principal Funded Debt from the Papers of the Secretary of the Treasury.

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No. XVI.

Population of Ireland in 1695.

Statement of Captain South, *one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue.*

Counties of Armagh	Persons assessed,	25,185	Exempted,	456	Total,	25,641
Louth	Do.	16,502	Do.	701	Do.	17,203
Meath	Do.	42,180	Do.	1138	Do.	43,318
City of Dublin						40,508
						126,670

" In the rest of the kingdom, according to the first quarter's assessment of the poll, there were, in proportion to the above counties, which were very exactly returned,

907,432" *
126,670

1,034,102

The Act, under which the assessment took place, was 7 W. 3. c. 15, entitled, " An act for granting a supply to his Majesty by raising money by poll and otherwise." The persons exempted from paying poll-money under this Act were, foreign protestant refugees; widows discharged from paying hearth-money; officers in his majesty's army, commanded out of the kingdom, and actually leaving the same; disbanded officers who served in Londonderry or Enniskillen, not possessed of freehold estates; widows of officers who served in these towns, having no freehold estates from their late husbands; widows of officers or soldiers who were killed or died during the late rebellion, not having freehold estates; persons who served as private soldiers in Londonderry or Enniskillen, during the siege of the former; their wives, widows, or children, and persons receiving alms, and being certified for by the minister of the parish, or, in his absence, by the next justice of the peace. The number of Commissioners appointed by this act was 1415, all of whom were to be Protestants. The penalty on assessors and presenters for non-performance of duty, was any sum not exceeding 5*l.* Collectors of parishes were allowed 3*d.* in the pound; collectors of baronies 2*d.* in the pound.

Population of Ireland, as returned to Parliament in 1731.

	Protestants.	Protestants.	Both.
Ulster,	360,630		
Leinster,	203,087		
Munster,	115,130	700,451	
Connaught,	21,604		2,011,219
	Roman Catholics.	**Roman Catholics.**	
Ulster,	158,028		
Leinster,	447,916		
Munster,	482,044	1,309,768	
Connaught,	221,780		

* Phil. Trans. v. iii. p. 666.

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No. XVII.

RETURN of the Houses in Ireland in the Year 1791, presented by Thomas Wray, Esq. Inspector-general of Hearth-money, 22d March 1792.

	Counties.	Houses paying for: One Hearth.	Two Hearths.	Three Hearths.	Four Hearths.	Five Hearths.	Six Hearths.	Seven Hearths.	Eight Hearths.	Nine Hearths.	Ten Hearths.	More than 10, and less than 44.	44 to 114 inclusive.	Taken from Abstract.	Exempted as: New.	Paupers.	Total.	
Ulster.	Antrim	22,353	1,939	592	292	166	114	58	55	25	20	51	2	Houses. -	895	3,746	30,314	
	Armagh	18,794	784	217	105	75	31	28	21	15	8	23	-	-	431	2,368	22,900	
	Cavan	13,928	571	122	65	34	36	15	13	7	7	19	-	-	559	2,763	18,139	
	Donegal	15,395	1,225	282	97	55	24	14	20	5	6	20	-	-	648	7,185	24,976	
	Down	31,147	1,974	482	235	148	89	42	34	13	25	67	-	-	1,118	2,977	38,851	
	Fermanagh	8,713	413	76	53	28	35	5	4	2	2	20	-	-	244	2,388	11,983	
	Londonderry	8,638	659	148	45	79	65	32	32	17	9	20	-	8,850	633	3,609	22,836	
	Monaghan	16,742	599	175	70	39	26	22	16	9	3	15	-	-	471	3,379	21,566	
	Tyrone	23,346	1,459	351	148	72	61	26	9	12	8	23	1	-	876	5,482	31,814	
																	222,879	Ulster.
Leinster.	Carlow	5,503	484	128	69	50	31	15	8	7	3	9	-	-	268	1,822	8,394	
	Dublin	7,693	2,016	1,293	1,571	1,252	1,950	2,123	1,930	1,225	834	1,319	6	-	673	1,213	25,108	
	Kildare	6,645	662	147	121	85	58	28	25	21	17	50	3	1,431	457	848	10,605	
	Kilkenny	13,212	833	228	126	56	61	29	24	17	10	22	1	-	288	2,812	17,719	
	King's County	10,445	897	225	133	101	56	41	26	14	18	34	-	-	599	2,372	14,961	
	Longford	6,662	349	78	40	38	19	12	7	5	5	18	-	-	327	2,793	10,348	
	Louth	9,239	487	165	105	83	65	56	18	15	20	36	1	-	461	2,076	12,827	
	Meath	17,215	1,064	238	132	104	68	44	37	16	22	77	1	-	987	3,126	23,133	
	Queen's County	11,161	834	215	115	74	52	25	20	10	16	32	2	-	482	2,648	15,685	
	Westmeath	10,068	653	161	103	57	37	32	33	13	10	51	1	-	322	2,411	13,951	
	Wexford	14,828	1,331	307	192	95	82	63	35	22	22	38	-	-	560	3,436	21,011	
	Wicklow	7,518	725	173	105	55	32	22	14	8	11	36	1	-	378	2,429	11,507	
																	185,252	Leinster.
Munster.	Clare	12,502	508	116	99	48	50	22	17	14	14	20	-	-	621	4,019	18,050	
	Cork	56,422	3,896	1,225	1,225	811	625	381	220	107	58	117	-	-	2,344	8,949	76,739	
	Kerry	15,051	650	97	97	53	41	13	8	2	8	19	1	-	614	3,488	20,213	
	Limerick	21,489	1,177	223	223	155	123	87	65	43	26	49	-	-	1,139	4,011	28,932	
	Tipperary	23,554	1,579	243	243	143	98	62	52	20	14	46	-	-	789	3,791	30,793	
	Waterford	13,590	942	214	214	157	145	107	59	33	33	58	1	-	456	2,690	18,796	
																	193,523	Munster.
Connaught.	Galway	11,725	723	274	122	76	60	37	26	13	12	36	-	4,744	967	5,453	24,268	
	Leitrim	8,093	257	51	21	24	8	5	3	2	4	5	-	-	851	3,054	13,378	
	Mayo	19,187	656	145	75	47	31	13	19	8	10	19	-	-	1,121	8,352	29,683	
	Roscommon	12,126	529	129	91	43	36	24	10	7	6	19	-	-	618	4,519	18,157	
	Sligo	11,006	558	139	69	52	26	15	7	8	4	5	-	-	666	2,407	14,962	
																	99,448	Connaught.
																Total.	701,102	Houses.

The number of Hearths in these Houses could not be ascertained, as the Books were not returned.

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An Account of the Number of Houſes paying Hearth-money, and the Number of Houſes exempted, in 1791.

Houſes.	Number of Hearths.	Duty thereon. £.	s.	d.
483,990	1	48,399	0	0
31,433	2	6,826	12	0
9,466	3	2,839	12	0
6,401	4	2,560	8	0
4,355	5	2,177	10	0
4,235	6	2,541	0	0
3,498	7	2,448	12	0
2,867	8	2,293	12	0
1,738	9	1,564	4	0
1,265	10	1,265	0	0
628	11	960	16	0
443	12	531	12	0
265	13	344	10	0
226	14	316	8	0
160	15	240	0	0
136	16	217	12	0
88	17	149	12	0
68	18	122	8	0
37	19	70	6	0
58	20	116	0	0
36	21	75	12	0
43	22	94	12	0
22	23	50	12	0
28	24	67	4	0
28	25	70	0	0
18	26	46	16	0
9	27	24	6	0
15	28	42	0	0
4	29	11	12	0
16	30	48	0	0
3	31	9	6	0
5	32	16	0	0
12	33	39	12	0
4	34	13	12	0
4	35	14	0	0
3	36	10	16	0
4	37	14	16	0
2	38	7	12	0
4	39	15	12	0
9	40	36	0	0
2	41	8	4	0
3	42	12	12	0
2	43	8	12	0
2	44	8	16	0
2	45	9	0	9
1	47	4	14	0
2	48	9	12	0
2	50	10	0	0
2	52	10	8	0
1	53	5	6	0
2	54	10	16	0
1	55	5	10	0
1	56	5	12	0
1	62	6	4	0
1	63	6	6	0
1	67	6	14	0
1	71	7	2	0
2	114	22	16	0

15,052 taken from abſtract.
21,866 exempted as new.
112,556 exempted as paupers.
Total 701,102

Eſtimate of the Value of the Holdings of Perſons paying Duty for one Hearth only, grounded on various Returns of Holdings, ſituated in the ſeveral Counties of Ireland. By Thomas Wray, Eſq. Inſpector-General of Hearth-money.

Value of Holdings. £.	Number of Hearths.	
1 and under	7,081	
2 do.	50,723	
3 do.	62,885	
4 do.	59,995	
		180,684
5 do.	58,568	
6 do.	46,485	
		285,737
7 do.	25,817	
8 do.	27,530	
9 do.	10,815	
10 do.	41,115	
20 do.	62,502	
30 do.	14,029	
40 do.	7,585	
50 do.	3,859	
Upwards of £50	5,001	
		483,990

Commons' Journals, 1793. Appendix, p. 333.

A Diviſion of the Houſeholders of Ireland, reſiding in ſingle hearth-houſes; copied from No. 1. of the Papers preſented by Mr. Wray to the Commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the Duties of Hearth-money.

First Class—Farmers holding from 40 acres of arable ground and upwards, and feeders and rearers of cattle, holding large tracts of rough ground or mountain, &c. in circumſtances with reſpect to ſelf-comfort and independence, equal to any man.

Second Class—Farmers holding from 10 to 40 acres of ground, moſtly in tillage, many of them manufacturers; alſo dairy-keepers, who have no permanent holdings, but as convenience beſt ſuits, take a reſidence, and the milk of 10, 15, 20, 50 or more cows. This claſs all in comfortable circumſtances.

Third Class—Labouring farmers, 5, 10, 20, or upwards, in partnerſhip, holding in common from 40 acres of ground up to hundreds, moſtly under tillage, generally articled to give a portion of labour to their landlords; when that and the labonr oftheir farms will permit, they are carriers of flour, butter, merchant goods, &c.; alſo manufacturers, tradeſmen, and dealers; alſo ſtewards and tradeſmen, bound to gentlemen. The holdings of this claſs may be rated at a yearly value of from 6l. to 10l. or upwards, and are all able to bear the tax of 2s. annually.

Fourth Class—Tradeſmen, ſmall dealers, and unbound labourers. Their holdings in towns from 1l. 10s. to 4l. value: in the country, where they have as much land as may give them an adequate ſupply of potatoes, from 4l to 6l.

Fifth Class—Cottiers, tradeſmen, or bound labourers, holding their houſes and gardens at will, with an acre of ground for potatoes, the whole of the value of about 4l. or 4 guineas a-year. Many of this claſs are exempted from the tax under the preſent regulations.

Sixth Class—Perſons diſabled by accident, ſickneſs, debility of limbs, old age, &c. from earning ſubſiſtence; alſo widows old and without help, or with a young and burdenſome family. This claſs are totally exempt from the tax, as it is now collected.

Extract from the Declaration of Mr. Wray:—"I was appointed to the office of Inſpector-general of Hearth-money, in the year 1787; and, under the direction of Mr. Commiſſioner Buſhe, viſited every walk in every part of the kingdom. I had it in direct and poſitive charge from Mr. Buſhe, to make it a particular object in the purſuit of my duty to attain a knowledge of the ſituation of the poorer orders inhabiting ſingle hearth-houſes. Com. Journ. vol xv. App. p. 337, &c.

Mr. Wray declared to the writer of theſe pages, in the year 1804, that there was no truth of which he was more convinced, than that not more than one half of the exempted houſes were returned.

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No. XVIII.

Population of Part of the City of Cork.

The City of Cork is divided into ſeven Pariſhes, St. Finbar, St. Nicholas, Chriſtchurch, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Anne, or Lower Shandon; St. Mary, or Upper Shandon. The Pariſhes of St. Finbar and of Upper Shandon, the former at the ſouthern, the latter at the northern extremity of the city, extend about three miles into the country. The following Account, taken in 1807, compriſes the Population of Chriſtchurch, of St. Nicholas, and that part of St. Finbar, which, from the continuity of Houſes, may be conſidered as belonging to the City.

Names of Streets.	Inhabited Houſes.	Roman Catholics.	Non Catholics.	
Pariſh of Chriſtchurch.				
South-main-ſtreet	89	598	298	
Morgan's-lane	5	82	4	
Wether's-lane, Allen's-lane, Lumley's-lane, Simon's-lane	27	320	48	
Old Poſt-office-lane, Wood's-lane, Kiſt's-lane, Collis's-lane,	25	287	31	Alms Houſes.
Chriſtchurch-lane	8	92	44	38
Bradley's-lane, Frederick's-lane, Wiſe's-lane, Berry's-lane	24	225	16	
Collector's-lane	19	88	7	
Tobin-ſtreet, or Charters's-lane	19	164	54	
Brunſwick-ſtreet	12	101	37	
Hanover-ſtreet, with Little do.	52	291	304	
Clark's-bridge, and Queen's-place	12	38	58	
Croſs-ſtreet, and Pitt's-lane	28	336	75	
Clothier's-lane	19	146	139	
Chamberlain's-alley	10	102	141	
James-ſtreet	11	11	44	
Ann-ſtreet	10	10	41	
Fiſhamble-lane	36	262	139	
Penn's-quay	14	11	57	
Mardyke-ſtreet	21	60	94	
Grand Parade	81	390	370	
Tuckey-ſtreet	18	31	114	
Chatterton's-buildings, and Parliament-ſtreet	12	48	44	
All Morriſſon's iſland	45	245	241	
North-ſide of South-mall	34	147	145	
Warner's-quay	13	54	33	
Lapp's-iſland	10	33	25	
Merchant's-quay	9	64	35	
Patrick-ſtreet, ſouth ſide	42	243	155	
Fiſh-ſtreet, with north ſide, and Thomas-ſtreet	28	111	115	
Mayler-ſtreet, and Winthorp-ſtreet	12	39	36	
Cook-ſtreet	19	63	42	
Pariſhes of St. Nicholas and St. Finbar.				
Mary-ſtreet	15	69	43	
Margaret-ſtreet	12	47	29	
Dunbar-ſtreet	16	101	24	
George's-quay	14	64	26	

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No. XVIII.—continued.

Names of Streets.	Inhabited Houſes.	Roman Catholics.	Non Catholics.	
Pariſh of St. Nicholas and St. Finbar—continued.				
Buckingham-ſquare, White-ſtreet, and Kemp-ſtreet	18	90	46	
Rutland-ſtreet	10	46	25	
Terrace, with adjoining houſes	20	108	110	
Cove-lane, or Douglas-ſtreet, and Carigeen-ſtreet	70	592	93	
New-lane	25	167	54	
Well-lane, and Quaker-road	59	403	15	
Quarry-road, or High-ſtreet	119	599	7	
From Crone's-lane, near Maypole-croſs, to the end of Evergreen-turn, Ballyphelane	174	883	42	
Sullivan's-quay	16	73	33	
Cove-ſtreet	26	180	12	
Travers-ſtreet, and Greenfield	14	158	5	
Abbey-ſtreet	29	330	49	
Maypole-road, from New-lane to Barrack-ſtreet	76	657	236	
Furze-lane, and Colbert's-lane	16	98	10	
Nicholas's-church-lane	10	83	24	
Geary's-lane	14	139	4	
Lag-lane	23	220	16	
Three-hatchet-lane	39	340	11	
Marlbro'-ſtreet	20	81	60	
Prince's-ſtreet	26	132	72	
Market-lane, and Pump-lane	14	92	13	
Grafton's-alley, Morgan-ſtreet, and Hurug's-alley	19	105	35	
Pembroke-ſtreet, and Smith-ſtreet	16	144	49	
Carlone-ſtreet, and Coghlan's-lane	10	79	25	
Georges's ſtreet	85	400	300	
Barrack-ſtreet	45	278	68	
Bandon-road	209	1388	64	
Dean-ſtreet, and Drudges-hill	48	446	131	
Barrack-ſlip-lane	9	102	10	Alms Houſes.
Step-lane, and Kearn's-ſquare	29	271	8	
Murphy's-lane	11	95	12	10
Cat-lane	61	520	2	
Kitling's-lane, and Feather-bed-lane	29	291	-	
Bennett's ſquare, Blackhorſe-lane, and Leary's-lane	21	174	-	
Old Weigh-houſe lane	16	109	-	
Crowley's-lane, and Rochford-lane	26	199	-	
Kent's, or Pigot's-lane	23	164	-	
Caboug-lane	29	252	4	
Hoſpital-lane	25	218	16	
Brandy-lane, and Fuller's-lane	59	424	-	
Malachy's-lane	22	151	5	
Gallows-green-lane	110	623	4	
Lough-lane	30	172	4	
Blueboy-lane, or Stephen's-ſtreet, including Blue-ſchool for 20 boys	41	347	38	
Little-blue-boy-lane	18	142	6	
From a little above Gillabbey or Love-lane, to corner of Gillabbey-walk, and Brandy-lane	43	252	44	
From corner of do. to Hayes's brewery	67	464	242	
Gillabbey-lane, Gillabey-walk, and Water-lane	32	182	11	
Fitton's-lane	14	166	32	
Globe-lane, Croſſe's-green, and Blackmore-lane	18	153	64	
	2,794	18,755	5,169	

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No. XVIII.—continued.

Total, 23,924, at 8 $\frac{768}{1188}$ on an average each houſe.

Catholics to Proteſtants, 3 $\frac{3243}{5169}$ to 1, or upwards of 7 to 2.

Baptiſms of Roman Catholic children in theſe pariſhes, (conſtituting together one Roman Catholic Benefice, denominated the South Pariſh,) average of 4 years, 1290. — Marriages, average of 4 years, 245. Baptiſms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{13}{49}$ to 1.

North Pariſh.

Baptiſms of Roman Catholic children, average of 3 years, 1089. — Marriages, average of 3 years, 234. Baptiſms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{36}{39}$ to 1.

Middle Pariſh.

Baptiſms of Roman Catholic children, 331. — Marriages, 59. Baptiſms to Marriages, 4 $\frac{17}{26}$ to 1.

Total number of Baptiſms, 2710. — Total number of Marriages, 538. Baptiſms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{19}{269}$ to 1.

In the Baptiſms are included thoſe of the children of Roman Catholics, reſiding in the liberties of the city of Cork.

At the rate of 1 baptiſm to 23 ſouls, the above number evinces the exiſtence of 62,330 Roman Catholics in the city and liberties of Cork.

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ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION and other STATISTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES of the Diocese of CORK.

Parishes or Unions.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year	No. of Burials in the last Year	State of the Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Masons, Slaters Thatchers, and Carpenters.	Highest Rent of Land per Acre.	Lowest Rent of Land.	Average Rent per Acre.	Public Roads.	Natural Manures.
						s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
Dunmanway	James Crowly	1,245	352	140	Increasing rapidly	o 11½ -	2 6 to 3 o	4 o o	o 11 4½	2 5 8¼	tolerably good	Sea Sand brought 16 or 20 Miles
Cahiragh	Timothy Sweeney	650	-	-	-	- -	- -	Land let in Lot.				
Carrigaline	John Callinane	456	65	30	Increasing	o 8 to 1 o	3 9½	5 o o	o 10 o	2 15 o	Do.	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds; Lime.
Passage and Shanbally	Richard Walsh	1,076	286	-	Do. rapidly	1 4	3 9½	+ 10 o o	o 18 o	5 9 o	good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Traston and 4 other Parishes	Thomas O'Connor	780	170	-	Increasing	o 10	2 8½	3 8 3	o 7 6	1 17 10½	Do.	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Bandon	Thomas Shinnick	1,113	290	98	-	-	- -	7 o o				
Desert Serges	same	849	185	48	-	-	- -	near Bandon				
Kilbrogan	same	341	68	40	-	*o 4	3 o to 3 3	3 o o	o 16 o	1 18 o	Do.	Sea Sand.
Kinsale and other Parishes annexed	Timothy Hurley, Thomas Mahony	1,200	305	-	Do.	1 1	3 3	+ 7 o o	o 12 6	3 16 3	tolerable	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Ovens, Aglis, and Dysart	William O'Brien	656	180	-	Do.	o 8	3 3	1 10 o	10 o	1 o o	good	Lime.
Ballymartle, &c.	Cornelius Allen	500	86	-	Do.	6 to 1 o	3 3	1 10 o	o 7 o	o 18 6	Do.	
Ballyfeard Clonteed Kilmahonogue	John Allen	about 500										
Ballinhassig	Denis O'Sullivan	500	100	-	Do.	1 1	3 9½	3 o o	o 7 o	1 13 6	bad	Sea Sand.
Glanmire and Carnavor	Cornelius O'Crowly	834	290	-	-	-	- -	-	-	-	-	Sea Sand; Lime.
Ruthclaran and Part of Kilbritain	T. Lane	623	130	50	Do.	o 8 to o 10	2 2 to 3 3	3 13 o	o 13 o	2 3 o	tolerably good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Carrigrohane												
Inchkinny	Nicholas O'Riordan	600	120	30	Do. rapidly	1 1	3 o to 3 3	4 11 o	1 5 o	2 18 o	not bad	Lime.
Kilnaglory												
Innishannon and Brinnah	Jeremiah Coughlan	797	- .	-	Do. do.	* o 5 or 1 o	3 3	4 11 o	o 7 o	2 9 o	good	Sea Sand.
Duruss and Kilcrohane	Denis Bernard	600	136	-	Increasing	1 1	3 9½	3 8 3	o 5 o	1 16 7½	bad	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Templemartin and Maragh	Patrick Murphy	462	161	-	Do.	*o 6½	3 o	3 o o	1 2 9	2 1 4½	tolerable	
Douglas and Ballygarvan	Michael O'Falvey	550	160	-	Do.	1 1	3 9½	+ 8 o o	o 10 o	4 5 o	in general bad	Sea Sand; Weeds; Lime.
Iveleary	John Murphy	605	-	-	Do.	o 9	2 6	o 18 o	o 4 o	o 11 o	bad	Lime.
Enniskean Kinneigh	James Haly	600	160	30	Do.	*o 6½	2 8½	2 o o	o 10 o	1 5 o	partly good, partly bad	
Kilmore	Florence Crowly	540	106	37	Do.	o 10	3 3	3 8 3	o 10 o	1 19 1½	partly good	Sea Sand; Sea Weeds.
Killmichael	Cornelius M'Swyny	703	168	53	Do.	o 9	2 8½	1 14 1½	o 5 o	o 19 6¾	good	Lime.
Drumdeague and Drinagh	—— M'Namara	948	-	-	-	*o 5	* 2 2	1 14 1½	o 2 o	o 18 o¾	bad	
Skull	William O'Shea	1,347	371	45	Do.	o 10	3 3	3 o o	o 10 o	1 15 o	bad in general	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Rringrone and Ballinadee	James Nugent	1,100	270	-	Do.	o 10	3 o	4 o o	o 6 o	2 3 o	good	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Moviddy Canaway and Kilmurry	Dennis O'Sullivan	1,250	300									
Cahirlog	M. Keane	587	107	-	Do.	1 1	3 3	5 13 9	o 9 o	3 1 4½	in general bad	Sea Sand; Lime.
Kilmacomogue or Bantry	Daniel O'Crowly	1,407	509	48	Do.	1 1	3 3	4 11 o	1 2 9	2 16 10½	very bad *	Gravel and Coral Sand.

Total Number of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics	23,715
Average do. in each Union or Parish	848 1/17
Total Number of Houses in the Unions or Parishes from whence Returns of Baptisms were sent	20,215
Number of Inhabitants in these at six on an Average to each House	121,290
Total Number of Baptisms	5,078
Baptisms to Numbers	1 to 23 734/1018

	£. s. d.
Average daily Wages of Masons, Slaters, Thatchers, and Carpenters	o 3 2¼
Do. of Labourers	o o 11¼
Average Rent of Land, per Acre, exclusive of Town Parks	1 16 5½

The Wages of dieted Artificers and Labourers are excluded. They are marked in the Return thus *. The Town Parks excluded are marked thus +.

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No. XIX.—continued.

OBSERVATIONS in the Parochial Returns of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Dioceſe of CORK.

Union of Ringrone and Ballinadee.

Almoſt the whole of this Union is cultivated. There is very little barren land in it. The rent of the land has doubled ſince the year 1782. There are but 14 houſes in the Union inhabited by Proteſtants. The Roman Catholics occupy 1,100 houſes.

Pariſh of Skull.

One half of this pariſh is uncultivated. The rent of land has more than trebled ſince 1782. In ſome places it has quadrupled. The average number of marriages in the years 1805, 6, 7, was 97¾. The average number of baptiſms 391¾.

Pariſh of Kilmore.

The rent of land has nearly trebled in every part of the pariſh ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Kilmichael.

This pariſh contains 10,000 acres of arable and paſture land, 10,000 waſte and 1000 irreclaimable. The rent of land has doubled ſince 1782. There are but 12 houſes inhabited by Proteſtants. The Roman Catholics inhabit 703.

Pariſh of Ivelary.

This pariſh contains 9000 acres of arable and paſture land, 4000 of waſte land, and 5000 of barren land. The rent has doubled ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Douglas.

All the land in this pariſh is good arable and paſture. The rent has quadrupled ſince 1782.

Union of Templemartin and Maragh.

In this pariſh there are 68 houſes inhabited by Proteſtants, and 758 by Roman Catholics.

Union of Duruſs and Kilcrohane.

Two-thirds of the land of this pariſh are arable, one-third waſte. The rent has trebled ſince 1782. The births in this pariſh are to the deaths as 4 to 1.

Union of Iniſhannon and Brinnagh.

There is no irreclaimable land in this pariſh. It is for the moſt part cultivated.

Union of Rathclaran and Kilbrittan.

All the land in this pariſh is arable or paſture. The rent has trebled ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Ballinhaſſig.

This pariſh compriſes a large tract of mountain, apparently incapable of cultivation.

Pariſh of Ballymartle.

In this pariſh there are only 12 houſes inhabited by Proteſtants. The houſes of the Roman Catholics amount to 500.

Union of Ovens, Aglis, and Dyſart.

There is no barren land in this Union. The number of houſes inhabited by Proteſtants is 15. The number inhabited by Roman Catholics is 656. The average number of ſouls in each houſe is 5¼. The males exceed the females by 160.

Pariſh of Kinſale.

There is very little uncultivated land in this pariſh. The rent has more than doubled ſince 1782.

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No. XIX.—continued.

Union of Bandon, Desertserge and Kilbrogan.

In this Union there are 25,640 acres; of which 2,191 are in brakes or bogs, the rest are cultivated. The Protestants inhabit 511 houses; the Roman Catholics 2,305; so that allowing six persons to each house, which is below the average number, the quantity of land to each individual, on an average, is about 1¼ acre English measure.

Union of Carrigrohan, Inchkinny and Kilnaglery.

The rent of land in this parish has trebled, and in several parts quadrupled since 1782. There has been an increase of 1000 souls in 3 years.

Union of Tracton and four other Parishes.

Almost every acre of this union is under tillage.

Union of Passage and Shanbally.

Not an acre of this union is irreclaimable. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Carrigoline.

There are not 100 acres uncultivated in this extensive parish. Generally speaking, the rent has trebled since 1782. There are 11,377 acres in the Protestant parish of Carrigoline; of these 1,196 were under potatoes, and 1751 under grain in the year 1806. The Roman Catholics throughout this parish are to the Protestants as about 9 to 1.

Union of Dunmanway and Fanlobbus.

One half of this union is cultivated, three-eighths rough pasture and reclaimable, and one-eighth irreclaimable. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Cahiragh.

This parish contains about 12,000 acres, one half of which is waste. The Protestants occupy six houses; the Roman Catholics 650.

Parish of Cahirlog.

All the land in this parish is either arable or pasture. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Bantry.

There are about 23,000 acres in this parish, 5000 of which are uncultivated, and 6000 barren. The rent has more than doubled since 1782. The Protestant houses are in number 112; those of the Roman Catholics 1,407. The annual average number of baptisms in five years, ending 1807, was 486. The annual average number of marriages same time was 56.

	Roman Catholic Houses.	Protestant Houses.	
Bantry, - -	1,407	112	
Cahiragh, - -	650	6	
Bandon, &c. - -	2,308	511	
Oven, &c. - -	656	15	
Ballymartle - -	500	12	
Templemartin, &c. -	758	68	
Kilmichael - -	703	12	
Ringrove, &c. -	1,100	14	
	8,082	750	10 $\frac{97}{123}$ to 1

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No. XX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION and other STATISTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES of Part of the Diocese of LIMERICK.

Parishes.	Catholic Clergymen.	Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Souls in 9 Houses of 3 different Classes.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year	State of Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, and Thatchers.	Highest Rent of Land per Acre.	Lowest Rent of Land per Acre.	Average Rent per Acre.	State of public Roads.	Natural Manures.
						s. d. s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
1. Kilbreedy, Effin	David Lee	393	75	112	Increasing.	0 8 & 1 1	- -	5 2 6	3 0 0	4 1 3	Good	Limestone-gravel.
2. Rathkeal	Charles Tuohy	1,500	45	260	Do.	1 1 & 1 7½	2 8½ +	10 0 0	3 0 0	6 10 0	Do.	Limestone.
3. Killeedy	Micholas Scanlan, Nicholas Shea	550	77	200	Do.	1 1	- -	3 10 0	0 10 0	2 0 0	Do.	- - - -
4. Bruree, St. Coleman's	Daniel O'Sullivan	600	66	100	Do.	1 1	2 8½	5 6 0	1 0 0	3 3 0	Do.	Do. Sand.
5. Bruff	Darby Bulkelly	1,000	66	250	Do.	1 1	3 3	4 11 0	2 0 0	3 5 6	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Earth.
6. Chapel Ruffel, Kildimo	Michael Copps	600	111	147	Do.	0 8	2 8½	4 11 0	1 2 9	2 16 10½	Do.	Limestone.
7. Kilfintinan, Cratloe	Derby Cronin	335	72	99	Do. rapidly	0 8	3 9½	5 13 9	1 2 0	3 7 10½	Do.	Limestone-gravel, Marle.
8. Nantinane	Patrick Halpin	800	53	112	Increasing	0 10	2 2	5 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0	Do.	Limestone.
9. Kilcolman	Richard Harnett	176	59	36	Rather on the Increase	1 1	3 0	5 0 0	0 15 0	2 17 6	Do.	Limestone.
10. Coolcappa		220	65	42								
11. Rathcahil	James Ambrose	403	89	95	Increasing	1 9	2 0	3 8 3	2 5 6	2 16 10½	Do.	Limestone-gravel in small Quantities.
12. Knockaderry	David Sullivan, Philip Sheahan	450	100	84	Do.	*1 0 ·	*2 0 | 2 · 8½ Slater	4 11 0	2 16 10½	3 13 11½	Indifferent	
13. Mahunagh	Michael Sheahan	386	73	76	Do.	0 6½ & 1 0	2 2	4 11 0	1 0 0	2 15 6	Good	Limestone and Gravel.
14. Drumcolah ir	Thomas O'Cleary	300	43	80	Do.	*0 6½ & 1 0	*2 2	3 8 3	2 0 0	2 14 1½	Do.	Do.
15. Abbyseale	Thomas O'Niel	550	90	104	Do.	*1 0	2 8½	5 13 9	0 10 0	3 1 10½	Do.	Lime and Sand.
16. Croom	Lawrence Hartnett	540	95	96	Do.	0 10	2 6	4 0 0	1 0 0	2 10 0	Do.	Limestone.
17. Adare	John Lee	460	93	102	Do.	0 10 & 1 0	2 8½	+6 0 9	1 0 0	3 10 0	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Marle.
18. Cahirnary, Donoughmore	—— Fitzgerald	527	74	162	Do.	0 8 & *1 1	*2 2	+9 0 0	1 8 0	5 4 0	Do.	Earth.
19. Fedamore	Andrew Ryan	506	82	91	Do.	0 8	2 2	5 10 0	0 17 0	3 3 6	Do.	Do.
20. Ardagh	James Corbett	280	54	61	Declining	*0 6½ & 1 1	3 9½	4 0 0	1 10 0	2 15 0	Do.	Do.
21. Kilmallock, Ballingaddy	John Trant, Timothy M'Carthy	456	78	136	Rather on the Increase	0 8 & 1 1	3 3	5 13 9	4 0 0	4 16 10½	Do.	Limestone and Gravel.
22. Glanroe	Michael Kiely	230	68	103	Increasing slowly	1 0	- -	3 8 3	0 10 0	1 19 1½	Partly good partly bad	Sand.
23. Balinvana	George de Lacy	467	66	85	Increasing	1 0	- -	5 10 0	1 17 0	3 13 6	Do.	
24. Meelick Parteen	William Ryan	450	78	160	Do.	0 8 & 1 1	3 9½	5 0 0	1 2 9	3 1 4½	Good	Limestone.
25. Kilfinan, Ardpatrick	John Shechy	600	66	100	Do.	1 1	2 8½	5 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0	Do.	Sand.

Total Number of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics	12,769
Average Number in each Union or Parish	532 1/14
Number of Inhabitants at six on an Average to each House	76,814
Number of Baptisms	2,893
Baptisms to Numbres	1 to 26 144/2893

	£. s. d.
Average daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, Slaters, and Thatchers	0 2 9½
Do. of Labourers	0 0 10½
Average Rent of Land per Irish Acre, exclusive of Town-Parks	3 1 11½
Do. English Acre	1 18 3½

The Wages of dieted Artificers and Labours are excluded.

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No. XX.—continued.

Diocese of LIMERICK continued.

Parishes.	Rise of Rent since 1782.	Absentee Landlords.
	£. s. d. £. s. d.	
Kilbreedy and Effin	3 8 3 on best Land 2 0 0 on worst do.	
Rathkeal	from 1 10 0 to 2 0 0 and from 3 8 3 to 5 13 9	2
Bruree and St. Colman's	Rent trebled	
Bruff	Rise 10s.	3
Chapel Russel and Kildimo	Doubled	
Cratloe and Kilfintinan	from 0 10 0 to 3 0 0 and from 2 0 0 to 5 13 9	4
Kilcolman and Coolcappa	from 2 5 6 to 5 0 0	5
Rathcahil	more than doubled	1
Knockaderry	trebled	
Mahunagh	doubled	1
Abbyfeale *	Rise 2l. 16s. 10½d.	
Croom	doubled	
Fedamore	Rise 1l. per Acre	
Ardagh †	doubled	2
Kilmallock and Ballingaddy	from 1 14 1½ to 5 13 9	3
Balinvana	Rise 3l. 10s.	
Meelick and Parteen	from 0 10 0 to 3 0 0 and from 3 0 0 to 6 0 0	3
Kilfinan and Ardpatrick	trebled	1
Glanroe	- - - - -	1
Adare	- - - - -	1
Killeedy	- - - - -	1
		28

* Not a Protestant in this Parish.

† Only four Protestants in this Parish, containing 280 Houses, inhabited by Roman Catholics.

All the Land in the following Parishes is excellent Arable Meadow and Pasture, except a small Bog in the Parish of Rathkeal.

Rathkeal
Bruree and
St. Colman's
Bruff
Chapel Ruffel,
Kildimo and
Coolcappa
Knockaderry
Adare
Cahirnary and
Donoughmore
Fedamore
Kilmallock and
Ballingaddy

The Land in the following Parishes is chiefly good Arable Meadow and Pastures, there are, however, some considerable Tracts of uncultivated Land.

Kilbreedy and
Effin
Nantinane
Kilcolman
Kilfinan
Rathcahil
Mahunagh
Drumcolahir
Abbyfeale
Ardagh
Glanroe
Balinvana

Union of Kelfintinan and Cratloe.

	Acres.
Arable Meadow and Pasture	2,800
Boggy Mountain - -	550
Woods and barren Land -	500
	3,850

Union of Meelick and Parteen.

	Acres.
Arable Meadow and Pasture	4,344
Bog and uncultivated Land	1,100
Barren Land - - -	200
	5,644

Parishes.	Baptisms.	Burials.
Rathkeal -	260	156
Bruff - -	250	80
Kildimo -	147	52
Cratole -	99	11
Rathcahil -	95	33
Knockaderry	84	21
Mahunagh	76	27
Druncolahir	80	60
Abbyfeale	104	52
Croom -	96	25
Adare - -	162	18
Cahirnary	162	47
Fedamore	91	21
Ardagh -	61	19
Meelick -	160	21
	1,867	643

Baptisms - - 2,893

Number of Inhabitants at six to a House 76,614

Baptisms to Numbers 1 to 26 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{3}\frac{2}{9}\frac{6}{7}$

Baptisms to Burial 2 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{3}$ to 1

Burials to Numbers 1 to 77 $\frac{2}{6}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{3}$

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ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION and other STATISTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES of the united Diocese of ARDFERT and AGHADOE, County of KERRY.

Parishes.	Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Souls in 9 Houses of 3 different Classes.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year.	State of the Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, Slaters, and Thatchers.	Highest Rent of Land.	Lowest Rent of Land.	Average Rent of Land per Acre.	Public Roads.	Natural Manures.
						s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
Miltown	Thomas Fitzgerald	750	70	160		0 10	2 6	4 11 0	0 10 0	2 10 6		
Fuogh	Timothy Mahony	1,300	77	300		0 10	2 6	3 8 3	0 10 0	1 19 1½		
Cahir	Edmund O'Flagherty	800	72	246		0 8	2 6	2 10 0	0 8 0	1 9 0		
Valentia	Timothy M'Carthy	833	71	250		0 6½	2 0	2 0 0	0 5 0	1 2 6		
Dromid	James Griffin	423	80	156		0 6½	2 0	1 10 0	0 5 0	0 17 6		
Ballybog	James Power	600	67	150		0 6½	2 0	0 15 0	0 2 0	0 8 6		
Kenmare	John Kearney	650	68	149		0 10	2 6	4 0 0	0 10 0	2 5 0		Sea Sand and Sea Weeds abound on the extensive Coast of Kerry.
Kahirdaniel	Charles M'Carthy	550	70	130		0 6½	2 0	1 0 0	0 4 0	1 2 0		
Killgarvon	Florence O'Sullivan	700	72	190		0 6½	2 0	4 0 0	0 10 0	2 5 0		
Glanfleſk	Darby Cronin	590	67	130		0 6½	2 0	3 8 3	0 5 0	1 16 7½		
Glen Lawrence	Timothy M'Carthy	800	89	144		0 6½	2 0	1 0 0	0 2 0	0 11 0		
Tuoſiſt	John Dee	800	69	200		0 6½	2 0	2 5 6	0 3 0	1 4 3		Limeſtone is in great Abundance in many Parts of the Interior.
* Caſtletown	John Halerty	850	71	195		1 1	2 8½	3 0 0	0 4 0	1 12 0		
* Cauligh	Bartholomew O'Sullivan	700	75	160		0 8	2 0	2 5 6	0 5 0	1 5 3		
* Garaniſh	—— Dooling	500	70	120		0 8	2 0	2 0 0	0 4 0	0 12 0		
* Millſtreet	Thomas Plunket	850	66	230		0 10	2 8½	4 0 0	0 5 0	2 2 6		
* Killmeen	Florence M'Gillicuddy	750	58	200		0 6½	2 0	3 0 0	0 8 0	1 14 0		The Pariſhes marked thus * are in the County of Cork.
* Droumtariff	Thomas Roach	650	77	160		0 6½	2 0	4 0 0	0 10 0	2 5 0		
* Knuckapal	Edmund Fitzgerald	800	65	190		0 8	2 8½	2 10 0	0 2 0	1 6 0		
Bally M'Gilligot	Robert Buckley	500	70	120		0 10	2 8½	5 0 0	0 10 0	2 15 0		
Glenbigh	John Corcoran	500	59	100		0 6½	2 0	1 0 0	0 0 6	0 10 3		
Ventry	—— Ahern	800	72	208		0 6½	2 0	2 5 6	0 8 0	1 6 9		
Dingle	James Kennedy	1,150	72	250		0 8	2 8½	4 0 0	0 10 0	2 5 0		
Liſpowell	James Stock	600	55	120		0 6½	2 0	2 10 0	0 15 0	1 12 6		
Letterigh	Owen Falvey	950	79	250		0 8	2 8½	3 10 0	0 10 0	1 10 0		
Tralee	Michael O'Sullivan	1,600	109	431		1 1	2 8½	9 2 0	1 10 0	5 6 0		
Ardfert	Morgan O'Flagherty	960	97	150		0 8½	2 8½	4 11 0	0 12 0	2 11 6		
Cauſeway	Jeremiah Murphy	1,194	107	256		0 8½	2 0	2 0 0	0 5 0	1 2 6		
Liſelton	James Murphy	850	80	180		0 8½	2 8½	3 0 0	0 10 0	1 15 0		
O'Dorney	Denis Keane	535	62	82		0 8½	2 0	3 8 3	0 12 0	2 0 1½		
Ballinagera	John Halloran	690	62	130		0 8½	2 0	4 0 0	0 8 0	2 4 0		
Liſtowell	James Walſh	900	82	200		0 10	2 8½	4 0 0	0 10 0	2 5 0		
Ballylongford	Michael O'Sullivan	985	84	230		0 10	2 8½	4 0 0	0 8 0	2 4 0		
Duagh	John Shine	330	74	150		0 6½	2 0	1 10 0	0 5 0	0 17 6		
Broſna	Patrick Ahern	401	88	90		0 6½	2 0	0 15 0	0 0 1	0 7 6½		
Currins	Denis Dwyer	700	64	130		0 8	2 8½	3 8 3	0 12 0	2 0 1½		
Caſtleiſland	Edmond Fitzgerald	1,100	73	230		0 10	2 8½	4 11 0	0 15 0	2 13 0		† Not one Proteſtant Family.
† Killcummin	Timothy Sheahan	300	63	80		0 10	2 8½	1 15 0	0 0 1	0 17 6½		‡ 45 Proteſtant Families.
Mullahive	Marcus O'Sullivan	860	80	230		0 8	2 8½	4 11 0	0 10 0	2 10 6		
‡ Killarney	Biſhop Sughrue	1,600	83	400		1 7½	3 0	5 0 0	0 5 0	2 12 6		
Caſtlemain	Charles M'Carty	825	80	174		0 8½	2 8½	2 10 0	0 5 0	1 7 6		

Total Number of Houſes		32,226	
Average Number in each Pariſh		786	
Number of Souls at ſix to each Houſe		193,356	
Number of Baptiſms		7,651	
Daily Wages of Maſons, Carpenters, Slaters and Thatchers		£. 0 2 4	
Do. of Labourers		0 0 8½	
Average Rent of Land per Iriſh Acre, excluſive of Town Parks		1 12 6	
Do. per Engliſh Acre		1 0 0½	

The Roads are in general bad, but Improvements are daily making The Practice of jobbing prevails.

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Roman Catholic Population, and other Statistical Circumstances of the Diocese of Ross, in the County of Cork,

Parishes.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Catholic Inhabitants.	No. of Protestants in Catholic families.	No. of Houses inhabited by Protestants.	No. of Protestant Inhabitants.	No. of Catholics in Protestant families.	Total of Catholic souls.	No. of children of Catholics baptized in the last year.	Total of Protestant souls.	State of the Population.	Face of the Country, and State of Cultivation.
Clonakilty	William O'Brien	1784	10,958	3	192	864	282	11,240	453	867	Increasing rapidly.	1. Clonakilty, &c. All reclaimable, except turbaries. One-twelfth pasture; the rest cultivated.
Roscarberry	Daniel Burke	1267	7617	2	40	180	60	7677	304	182	Increasing.	2. Roscarberry. Little pasture; all reclaimable, and generally cultivated.
Shibbereen	John Kirby	1631	9786	5	-	-	-	9786	443	5	Do.	3. Shibbereen One-tenth pasture. Much cultivated, all reclaimable.
East Barryroe	David Walsh	1167	6712	-	42	200	63	6775	307	200	Stationary.	4. East Berryroe. All highly cultivated.
West Barryroe	James Keliher	841	5424	-	5	25	12	5436	227	25	Increasing.	5. West Berryroe. No pasture; all reclaimable, and cultivated.
Timoleague	Stephen Tobin	728	4878	1	31	115	50	4928	154	116	Do.	6. Timoleague. One-eighth pasture, the rest cultivated.
Kilmeen	John Davies	800	4529	-	23	115	47	4576	173	115	Do.	7. Kilmeen. One-fourth pasture; all reclaimable; some parts cultivated.
Kilmacabee	John Power	1000	6000	1	28	126	41	6041	276	127	Do.	8. Kilmacabee. One-sixth pasture; more than half cultivated.
Castlehaven	Daniel Connel	1349	7756	3	40	180	60	7816	312	183	Do.	9. Castlehaven. One-eighth irreclaimable; the rest cultivated.
Aghadown	John Daly	1060	6360	2	86	430	121	6481	288	432	Do.	10. Aghadown. One-tenth irreclaimable; one-fifth pasture; the rest cultivated.
Cape Clear, and Shirkin	William Manning	300	1500	-	8	40	9	1509	71	40	Stationary.	11. Cape Clear, and Shirkin island. More than half irreclaimable, little cultivated; no good pasture.

Parishes.	Wages of Labourers.	Wages of Masons, Carpenters Slaters.	Highest rent of Land.	Lowest rent of Land.	Average rent of Land per acre.	Natural Manures.	Public Roads.	Rise of rent since 1782.	No. of Absentees residing in England.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.				
Clonakilty	0 4 to 1 1	3 0	2 16 10	0 14 0	1 15 5½	Sea sand and weeds.	Partly good.	Threefold.	-
Roscarberry	0 6 to 0 10	3 0	2 10 0	0 7 0	1 8 6	Do.	Neglected.	From 18s.	-
Shibbereen	0 10	2 8½	2 10 0	0 10 0	1 10 0	Do.	In general bad.	Threefold.	1
East Barryroe	0 10	3 0	2 10 0	1 0 0	1 15 0	Do.	Bad.	From 16s.	-
West Barryroe	0 10	3 0	2 10 0	0 14 0	1 12 0	Do.	In general bad.	Twofold.	-
Timoleague	0 6 to 0 11	3 0	3 8 3	0 6 8	1 17 5½	Do.	Good.	From 12s.	-
Kilmeen	0 6 to 0 10	2 8½	1 14 1½	0 3 9½	0 18 11½	Do.	Bad.	From 10s.	-
Kilmacabee	0 6 to 1 1	2 8½	3 8 3	0 1 0	1 14 7½	Do.	In general bad	Threefold.	1
Castlehaven	0 6 to 1 1	2 8½	2 16 10½	0 10 0	1 13 5½	Do.	Good.	Doubled.	2
Aghadown	0 10	2 8½	2 5 6	0 10 0	1 5 3	Do.	Bad.	Do.	-
Cape Clear, and Shirkin.	0 10	-	2 0 0	0 2 0	1 1 0	Do.	None.	Do.	All absent from the islands.

Total number of Houses,	-	-	12,422
Do. of Inhabitants,	-	-	74,557
Average number to each House,	-	-	6 $\frac{28}{124}$
Number of Roman Catholics,	-	-	72,265
Number of Baptisms,	-	-	3,008
Baptisms to numbers,	-	-	1 to 24 $\frac{73}{100}$

Average number of Roman Catholics in each parish,	-	-	6,569 $\frac{6}{11}$
Roman Catholics to Protestants,	-	-	31 $\frac{12}{21}\frac{1}{0}\frac{3}{2}$ to 1.
			£. s. d.
Daily wages of Masons, Slaters, Carpenters,	-	-	0 2 10
Do. of Labourers,	-	-	0 0 9½
Average rent of Land.	-	-	1 13 2

General Observations, by the Reverend Dr. William O'Brien, P. P. of Clonakilty.

The Population of this District is rapidly increasing, particularly in those parts which are most remote from the sea-coast. Within a few miles of the shore, cultivation has already reached that point of perfection which appears to set improvement at defiance. The surplus of the growing population is disposed of either by emigration to England, the last resource of the wretched peasant; or by removal to the interior parts of the country, where there are still vast tracts of reclaimable land uncultivated. The ground is not naturally good in any part of this district. It owes almost every thing to the unremitting industry of a hardy laborious people. Immense quantities of potatoes are cultivated along the coast, and sent for sale to the Dublin market. Flax also is raised here in great abundance; even the poor have their little plantations of this useful article, the manufacturing of which gives employment to the female part of their families through the year. The labourer who has no farm, bargains with some farmer in his vicinage for as much land as may be necessary for the growth of a certain measure of flax-seed. In three months the flax is fit to meet the first process of its manufacture. It is soon, by the persevering industry of the rising generation, prepared for the wheel, and when spun, it is sent to the markets of Clonakilty and Shibbereen, where from 4 to 6000l. are weekly laid out in the purchase of linen thread. There are at least 900 looms, in the above parishes, constantly employed in weaving a coarse species of linen called Vitry, which is bought on commission by London merchants, who use it in packing goods for foreign markets. The parishes are generally named by the Catholic clergy, after the principal town therein. The united parishes, for instance, of Kilgarf, Kilnagross, Temple-brian, Island, Desart, &c. are called the parish of Clonakilty, though no such parish appears in the ecclesiastical map. In many of the parishes in the table the number of souls exceeds the number of acres.

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No. XXIII.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION, &c. in five UNIONS or PARISHES in the Dioceſe of CLOYNE, in the County of CORK.

Unions or Pariſhes.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houſes inhabited by Roman Catholics.	Baptiſms in the laſt Year.	State of Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Slaters and Carpenters.	Higheſt Rent of Land.	Loweſt Rent of Land.	Average Rent of Land per Acre.	Natural Manure.	
					s. d. s. d.	*s. d.* Carpent.	*£. s. d.*	*£. s. d.*	*£. s. d.*		
Blarney and Whitechurch	John Lane	532	72	Rather increaſing	1 1	3 3 2 8½	4 11 0	0 16 0	2 13 6	Limeſtone.	Engliſh Acre
Macroom	James Roche	772	109	Increaſing	0 8 to 1 1	3 0	5 13 0	2 0 0	3 16 10½		Do.
Kildorrery	John Lawton	850	200	Do. greatly	0 9	2 8½	4 11 0	1 5 2 arable 0 7 0 mountain	2 2 0		Iriſh one
Charleville	James Barry	805	184	Do. rapidly	1 1	2 2 & 2 8½	5 10 0	4 0 0	4 15 0		Do.
Mallow and Rahan	Thomas Barry	1000	400	Do. do.	0 10	2 8½	+ 10 0 0	2 0 0	6 0 0		Do. + Town Parks

Total Number of Houſes	3,959
Average Number of Houſes in each Union or Pariſh	871
Number of Inhabitants, excluſive of thoſe in Mallow and Rahan	17,754
Number of Baptiſms with the ſame Excluſion	565
Baptiſms to Numbers, 1 to	31 2/31

	£. s. d.
Average daily Wages of Maſons, Slaters, and Carpenters	0 2 9 1/12
Do. of Labourers	0 0 10 7/8

In all all theſe Pariſhes the Roads are very good.

OBSERVATIONS in the PAROCHIAL RETURNS.

Union of Blarney and Whitechurch.

No irreclaimable land. 27 houſes inhabited by Proteſtants. The rent of and is nearly three times higher than in 1782.

Pariſh of Macroom.

In this pariſh there are 5006 acres of arable, paſture, and meadow, and 430 of bog. Rent of land has been trebled at leaſt ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Kildorrery.

This pariſh is for the moſt part under tillage. There are ſome mountain lands, which are improving highly, and which promiſe to be the moſt valuable of the land when reclaimed, particularly for graſs and meadow. There is ſcarcely any irreclaimable land in the pariſh. Rent much more than doubled ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Charleville.

All the land in this pariſh is fine arable and paſture, except five or ſix acre of bog. Rent has, for the moſt part, trebled ſince 1782.

Pariſh of Mallow.

The rent has in moſt places trebled, in ſome quadrupled, ſince 1782.

In the pariſh of the Great Iſland, in the dioceſe of Cloyne, there are 1,066 houſes; of which 140 are new; in the Town of Cove, the average number of inhabitants in each is 7½. Fifty-one are inhabited by Proteſtants. The higheſt rent in the iſland is 3 guineas: the loweſt 1*l.* per Engliſh Acre.

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No. XXIII. — continued.

PARISH of DUNGARVON, in the Diocese of LISMORE.

Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year.	State of Population.	Highest Rent of Land per Acre.	Lowest Rent of Land per Acre.	Average Rent per Acre.	Daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, and Slaters.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Natural Manures.	Roads.
Thomas Keatinge Thomas Walsh	1,053	210	Increasing rapidly	£. s. d. 6 16 6	£. s. d. 1 2 9	£. s. d. 3 19 7½	£. s. d. 0 3 3	£. s. d. 0 1 4	Lime; Sea Sand; and Sea Weeds.	For the most part very bad

The land in this parish is, for the most part, cultivated. There is a mountain, in the south part, which, at one side, is reclaimed to the top; the other is equally reclaimable.

NOTE.

On the accuracy of the return of the population of the diocese of Ross, the writer feels himself in possession of sufficient reason to rely, as likewise on that of many of the parochial returns in the general return of the diocese of Cork, and on that of some in those of other dioceses. For the accuracy of the rest he cannot take upon him to answer; but finds not sufficient reason to doubt it.

Before the enumerations were proceeded on, the writer observed to one of the superiors of the Roman Catholic clergy, through whose influence, kindly exerted, the business was pursued, that the detection of an exaggeration, in any one instance, would obviously have the effect of bringing discredit on all the returns; and, consequently, that of weakening whatever reasoning might be employed in behalf of the Roman Catholics, grounded on their numeral importance. To this it was replied, that, generally speaking, the parochial Roman Catholic clergy concerned themselves but very little in political speculations; and that there existed rather more reason to apprehend that they would under-rate, than over-rate the numbers of their parishioners; as, in the latter event, they would impress their bishop with the expediency of appointing coadjutors, who would participate in their scanty incomes, as well as their labours.

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No. XXIV.

PROTESTANT SCHOOLS.

Royal Free-schools.

	Lands.	Annual Value in the Year 1788. £. s. d.	Number of Scholars. Boarders.	Day.	Free.	Total.	Observations.
Armagh	1,499 Profitable Acres -	662 0 7	50	11	5	66	
Dungannon	1,654 Do., and 1,000 of Bog	975 18 7½	10	5	—	15	House accomodates 50.
Raphoe	1,070 Do. - - -	335 14 5	2	13	5	20	House accommodates two only.
Enniskillen	2,537 Do. - - -	1,271 7 10	5	3	16	24	House new, will accommodate 90.
Cavan	556 Do. - - -	450 15 10	31	3	12	46	No House.
Banagher	204 Do. - - -	163 0 0	—	—	—	—	No House.
Carysfort	About 300 mostly Mountain -	60 0 0	—	—	40	40	House of Mud and Stone
	Total 7,820 Acres. -	3,918 17 3½				211	

Schools founded by Erasmus Smith.

Number.	Annual Value of Lands. £. s. d.	Boarders.	Day Scholars.	Free Scholars.	Total.
7	4,474 4 10	89	54	139	282

Grammar Schools on private charitable Foundations.

Annual Value of Endowments. £. s. d.	Boarders.	Day Scholars.	Free Scholars.	Total.
2,200 0 0	179	257	32	468

English Schools on private charitable Foundations.
Annual Value of Endowments 7,400*l.*
Number of Scholars 1,295.

Hibernian School - -	390 Children	Year 1807.
Marine School - -	132 Do.	
Hospital King Charles II.	190 Do.	

Diocesan Free-schools, Year 1788.

Armagh—No House	Glendalagh—None	Ferns ——
Cashell—House in ruins	Downe ——	Limerick—House in bad condition
Clonfert—No House	Connor—None	Ardfert—None
Cloghen—House out of repair	Elphin—House in repair	Meath—House not habitable
Cork—Do.	Kildare—Do. repairing, for 20 Boarders.	Offory—None
Ross—None	Killala—None	Raphoe—None
Cloyne—Small House not fit for Boarders	Achonry—None	Tuam—House not habitable
Londonderry—House in repair, fit for 12 Boarders	Killaloe ——	Enaghdoen—None
Dromore—House in ruins	Kilfinora—None	Ardagh—House for 20 Boarders
Dublin ——	Kilmore—None	Waterford—None
	Leighlin—House for 20 Boarders	Lismore—None

Total Amount of Salaries - - - £616 5 7

Scholars. Boarders.	Day.	Free.	Total Number.
46	253	25	324

Royal Free-schools - - -	211 Scholars.
Erasmus Smith's Schools -	282
Grammar Schools - - -	468
English Schools - - -	1,295
Military Schools and Hospital -	642
Diocesan Free-schools - -	324
Parish Schools - -	11,000
Total Number of Scholars	14,222

In 29 dioceses, returned out of 34, there are 1,699 parishes, composing 838 benefices. There are parish-schools in 352 of these benefices, which are, in no instance, kept either by the incumbents or their curates, but by deputies or persons paid for that purpose, whose stipends do not exceed (a very few instances excepted) 40*s.* a year. In these schools 11,000 children are instructed. The price of instruction is from 1*s.* to 3*s.* per quarter.

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No. XXV.

PROTESTANT CHARTER-SCHOOLS.

In and before the year 1761, there were erected 47 charter-schools for the reception of 1,979 children, of Roman Catholic parents. The number in the schools, in that year, was 1,684. The then annual expence of the schools and nurseries was 9,052l. 1s. 9d. These schools are under the direction of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Charter-schools.

The average number of children in the schools for seven years, ended in 1783, was 1,587. The amount of their earnings was 985l. 13s. 8d. The net income of the society was 11,984l. 6s. 8d. The expenditure 12,413l. 14s. 9½d.; diet of each child per year 3l. 16s. 0½d.; clothing 1l. 5s.

Substance of the reports of the benevolent Howard and Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick:—"The children, generally speaking, are unhealthy; half-starved; in raggs; totally uneducated; too much worked; and, in all respects, shamefully neglected." Commons Journals.

The number of children in the schools, on an average of three years, ended in 1790, was 1,455. The then net annual income of the Society was 20,105l. 17s. 9½d. The parliamentary grants to the society were as follows:

Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.
1745 -	2,000	1767 -	14,000	1787 -	11,000	1798 -	13,000
7 -	1,000	9 -	14,000	8 -	10,000	9 -	13,000
9 -	1,000	1771 -	17,000	9 -	12,000	1800 -	13,000
1751 -	6,000	3 -	12,000	1790 -	12,000	1801 -	13,000
3 -	6,000	5 -	12,000	1791 -	12,000	2 -	19,731
5 -	12,000	7 -	14,000	2 -	12,000	3 -	19,562
7 -	14,000	9 -	14,000	3 -	12,000	4 -	21,062
9 -	6,000	1781 -	12,000	4 -	12,000	5 -	20,129
1761 -	14,000	3 -	5,000	5 -	13,000	6 -	22,621
3 -	20,000	5 -	9,000	6 -	14,000	7 -	22,621
5 -	14,000	6 -	9,000	7 -	13,000	8 -	23,270
							£561,996

Produce of the Duty on Hawkers and Pedlars from the Years 1747 to 1789 inclusive, assigned to the Society £50,277.

Total Receipts of the Society, exclusive of their Revenues arising from Estates, Legacies, Donations, &c. £612,273.

Number of Children in the Schools and Nurseries on the 29th September 1807 -	2,016
Establishment of the 33 Schools - - - - - - - - - -	1,840
Total Number of Children apprenticed - - - - - - - -	7,203
Number of Marriage Portions of 5l. paid - - - - - - - -	819

EXTRACT from the 31st Report of the Commissioners of Account. – INCORPORATED SOCIETY.

Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last Account in Favour of the Public	8,914	10	8
Parliamentary Grant, Session 1803 - -	20,430	18	6
Interest on Funds in England - - -	3,769	1	7½
Do. in Ireland - - -	497	10	0
Legacies, Donations, Subscriptions - -	769	12	9
Rent of Estates - - - - - -	1,843	12	10
Sundries - - - - - - -	1,557	0	4½
	£37,782	6	8½

Discharge.	£.	s.	d.
Subsistence of Children in the Schools and Nurseries - - -	25,967	12	7½
Furniture and Repairs - -	1,404	18	1
Books, Printing, Stationary -	532	15	8
Sundry other Charges under 500l.	894	3	6½
	£28,799	9	11½

If the number of children in these schools, in 1788, was equal to the present number, the total number of Protestant children, then at public schools in Ireland, was 15,891, or 6,001 less than the number of Roman Catholic children actually at the unendowed schools in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross.

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No. XXVI.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS in the Dioceſes of CLOYNE and ROSS.

CLOYNE.

Diſtricts.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Terms of Inſtruction. Reading.	Writing.	Arithmetic.
			s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Kilcorrery	7	770	3 9½	5 5	6 6 per Qur.
Mitchelſtown	13	632	3 9½	5 5	6 6
Glanworth	10	646	3 2	3 3	4 4
Fermoy	6	330	2 2	4 4	6 6
Caſtletown Roche	10	480	3 3	3 3	4 4
Aghaakiſhy	5	344	2 2	2 2	4 4
Donerailе	6	588	3 3	4 10½	5 5
Rathcormack	4	405	2 2	2 2	3 9½
Killagh	5	328	2 2	3 3	3 9½
Youghall	10	572	2 2	3 3	5 5
Ballymacoda	5	307	2 2	3 3	4 4
Great Iſland	4	400	3 3	4 4	6 6
Kanturk	15	888	3 3	4 4	6 6
Carrigtowhil	2	219	3 3	4 4	6 6
Kilnamartra	1	60	3 3	4 4	5 5
Macroom	6	248	3 3	5 5	8 1½
Aghabullog	3	110	2 2	2 2	3 3
Aghina	3	150	2 2	3 3	4 4
Caſtlemartyr	4	272	3 3	4 4	5 5
Aghada	8	506	3 3	4 4	6 6
Kilworth	7	628	2 2	3 3	5 5
Cluaindrohid	4	228	2 2	3 3	5 0
Liſgoold	3	232	2 8½	3 9½	5 5
Middleton	4	343	3 3	4 4	6 0
Donoughmore	10	745	2 2	3 3	4 4 per Qur
Glauntane	4	441	2 8½	3 9½	6 0
Caſtlelyons	8	484	2 8½	3 9½	4 4
Whitechurch and Blarney	6	507	2 2	3 3	6 0
Cloghroe and Inſicarra	4	247	2 2	2 8½	5 5
Cloyne	6	377	3 3	4 4	3 9½
Mallow	9	434	5 5	6 6	5 5
Ballinamona	7	581	2 2	3 3	8 1½
Charleville	13	518	2 8½	3 9½	4 4
Shandrum	7	405	2 2	2 8½	5 5
Tullaleaſe	6	438	2 2	3 3	4 4
Conna	6	389	2 2	3 3	4 4
Buttevant	4	325	2 2	3 3	4 4
Ballyaura	3	275	2 2	3 3	5 5
Ballyclough	7	649	2 2	3 3	5 5
Caſtlemagner	6	470	2 8½	3 9½	5 5
Liſcarrol and Churchtown	4	389	2 2	3 3	5 5
Ballyvourne	2	110	2 2	3 9½	4 4
Clonmeen	2	150	2 2	3 9½	3 9½
Totals 43	259	17,600			

ROSS.

Clonakilty	11	650	4 4	5 5	6 6	Aghadown & Iſlands	8	530	2 2	3 3	4 4
Eaſt Barryroe	3	260	3 3	4 4	5 5	Timoleague	3	380	2 2	3 3	4 10½
Kilmeen	3	359	3 3	4 4	5 5	Roſs	6	260	2 2	3 3	5 5
Kilmacabee	5	346	2 2	3 3	4 10½	Caſtletownſend	4	503	3 3	4 4	5 5
Skibbereen	10	528	2 2	3 3	4 4	Weſt Barryroe	4	476	2 8½	3 3	5 5
						Totals 10	57	4.292			

Cloyne and Roſs.

Schools.	Scholars.
316	21,892

Average number of ſcholars in each ſchool 69. Average terms for inſtruction in reading 9*s.* 11*d.* per year: for reading and writing 13*s.* 10*d.*: for reading, writing and Arithmetic 19*s.* 8*d.*

The writer was furniſhed with this Return by the Right Reverend Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic biſhop of Cloyne and Roſs; who obſerved, on delivering it, that it exhibited the number of children who attend ſchool during the ſummer: that that number (as the writer knows) conſiderably exceeds the number of thoſe who attend during the winter: that the latter was returned, on a late occaſion, to the eſtabliſhed clergy: that in ſeveral inſtances even that number was underrated, in conſequence of an apprehenſion prevalent among the ſchoolmaſters, that ſome meaſure diſadvantageous to them was in contemplation; and that ſuch meaſure was likely to be purſued in proportion as they ſhould appear to have many ſcholars.

The following Return was tranſmitted to the writer by his much reſpected friend Lord Carberry:

Unendowed Country Schools in the Barony of Barryrove, in the County of Cork.

Pariſhes.	Teachers' Names.	Terms per Quarter. Reading.	Writing and Accounts.	No. of Scholars.
		s. d.	s. d.	
Timoleague	1, John Donohue	2 6	5 0	60
Abbeymahon	2, Eugene Davis	2 6	6 0	80
	2, Michael Deaſy	2 6	6 0	60
Liſlee	2, James O'Brian	2 6	6 0	80
	2, Frederick Driſcoll	2 6	6 0	90
Temple O'Malus	2, Patrick M'Carthy	2 6	5 0	70
	2, Timothy Brian	3 6	6 0	99
Ardfield	1, John Tobin	2 2	5 5	210
Rathbarry	2, Owen Sullivan	2 2	3 3	55
	2, Owen Sullivan, jun.	2 2	5 5	41
Kilkerranmore	2, Mary Callan	2 2	— —	40
	2, Michael Hegarty	2 2	4 4	80
				871

According to a return made by the High Conſtable in the year 1806, the barony of Barryroe appeared to contain 31,591 acres, Engliſh meaſure, 5,152 houſes, and 18,798 inhabitants.

The number of houſes in the pariſh of Ardfield, as returned by the High Conſtables, was 370: the number returned the following year by the pariſh prieſt was 410, inhabited by Roman Catholics, and 3 by Proteſtants.

In the pariſh of Carrigoline, in the County of Cork, there are 4 unendowed R. C. Schools, as underneath.

Teachers' Names.	Terms of Inſtruction. Reading	Writing & Arith.	No. of Scholars.
	s. d.	s. d.	
* Andrew Harte	4 4	6 6	30
Timothy Donovan	4 4	6 6	70
Denis Lane	3 3	4 4	60
Timothy & Redmond Connell	3 3	6 6	140

* Andrew Harte placed his ſon, at the age of 12 years, at a Proteſtant academy, at the expence of 30 guineas a year. He removed him at the age of 13 to another, and paid 40 guineas a year for his inſtruction and maintenance. The literary attainments of the youth have been ſuch as qualify him eminently for the buſineſs of the counting-houſe, or for acting as an aſſiſtant to a ſchool-maſter. His father has had him inſtructed with the view of qualifying him for the inſtruction of others.

In the town and neighbourhood of Kilfinane, in the county of Limerick, the writer found 310 children in 4 ſchools within 6 miles of each other.

In the dioceſe of Cork there are 2 or 3 Ro. Ca ſchoo's in every pariſh, according to the report of the Right Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, coadjutor biſhop of that dioceſe.

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No. XXVI. continued.

Official Returns by Protestant Clergymen.

Schools.

Union of Headford, 399 Ro. Cs. children at school.

Union of Ratoath, 20 Protestant children, besides those of the clergyman and clerk.

651 Protestant children in 47 parishes in the diocese of Meath.

Rural Deanery of Wexford, not a Protestant child to be instructed.

Province of Ulster—Diocese of Armagh.

In 9 schools, 202 Protestants, 76 Presbyterian Dissenters, 24 Roman Catholics. In 13 other schools 193 Protestants, 14 Dissenters, 86 Roman Catholics. Forkhill, 5 schools, two-thirds of the scholars Roman Catholics.

Parish of Ardtrea, Rev. Thomas Elrington Rector; 15 schools, 7 Protestant, 1 Presbyterian, 7 Roman Catholic. All masters use the same books, admit children of all religions, and teach them their respective catechisms.

No. XXVII.

FOUNDLING HOSPITAL, DUBLIN.

	Children admitted.	Died: In the Nursery.	Died: In the Country.	Died: Of the Family.	Struck off the Books.	Apprenticed.	Eloped.	Given to Parents.
Average of three Years, ended in 1787	2,037	436	562	36	677	172	28	25
Do. 1796	2,130	1,344	305	43	355	195	10	45
In 12 Years, ended in 1796	25,352	11,663	5,119	47	6,442	1,936	170	424
Year ended 1798	1,750	977						
Do. 1800	1,717	460						
Do. 1805	1,934	359						

At nurse in the country in 1763, 1,247 children. In the accounts of the hospital for the year 1765, there appears a deduction of 1,644l. for wages for the nursing and maintenance of 411 children; the nurses not having produced them, and claimed their wages.

GROWN DEPARTMENT.

Year ended in 1805.

In the House.	Died.	Eloped.	Apprenticed.	Given to Parents.	Sent to the Country for Health.
555	2	2	217	1	18

Infants in the Country 5th of Jan. 1804 - 3,825	Died.	Remained in the Country 5th Jan. 1805 4,256
Sent to nurse, Year ended in 1805 - - 1,662	923	Expence of the Establishment, Year ended 1st Jan. 1805, 30,178l. 9s. 2d.
Sent to the Country for Health. - - 18		

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No. XXVIII.

Comparative View of the PROTESTANT and ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATIONS in the Diocese of ROSS, and in the following Districts, Parishes, &c. in the Provinces of MUNSTER, CONNAUGHT, and LEINSTER.

Diocese of Ross.	Protestants 2,292.		Roman Catholics 72,265.		
Union of Ringrone	Protestant Houses	14	Roman Catholic Houses	1,100	Returns made by Roman Catholic Clergymen.
Parish of Kilmichael	Do.	12	Do.	703	
Union of Templemartin	Do.	68	Do.	758	
Parish of Ballymartle	Do.	12	Do.	500	
Parish of Ardfield	Do.	3	Do.	410	
Union of Ovens, Aglis, &c.	Do.	15	Do.	656	
Union of Bandon, &c.	Do.	511	Do.	2,305	
Parish of Cahiragh	Do.	6	Do.	650	
Parish of Bantry	Do.	112	Do.	1,407	
South Parish, Cork	Protestants	5,169	Do.	18,755	
Parish of Abbeyfeal	Protestant Houses none			550	
Parish of Ardagh	Do.	4		280	
Town of Clonmel	Protestant, Quakers, and Protestant Dissenters	3,000	Roman Catholics	9,000	
Parish of Killarney	Protestant Houses	45	Roman Catholic Houses	1,600	
Parish of Kilcummin	None		Do.	1,100	
Union of Blarney	Protestant Houses	27	Roman Catholic Houses	532	
Parish of Cove or Great-island	Do.	51	Do.	1,015	
11 Parishes or Unions in the Diocese of Tuam	Protestant Families	85	Roman Catholic Families	4,408	
Parish of St. Mullin's	Protestants none		Roman Catholics	4,000	
Town of Graigamana	Protestant Houses	4	Roman Catholic Houses between 4 & 500		
Parish of Allen	None		No. of Roman Catholics not returned		
Parish of Arlesin	Protestant Families	18	Roman Catholic Families about	1,800	
Parish of Tullow	Do.	154	Do.	1,855	
Parish of Castle Blakeney	Do.	3	Do.	300	Official Returns made by Protestant Clergymen.
Parish of Killyglass	Do.	4	Do. not returned		
Union of Shankill and three other Parishes	Do.	3	Do. do.		
Parish of Kilbeguet	None		Do. do.		
Parish of Tarmonbury	Searcely any		Do. do.		
Parish of Kilnamanagh	Do.		Do. do.		
Union of Newport *			All Roman Catholics		
Parish of Lusk	Do.	4	Do. not returned		
Parish of Rathbeggan	None		Do. do.		
Parish of Moyglue	Do.	15	Do. do.		

* According to a report made to the writer by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, the average number of Protestant Families in this union, and those of Westport, Castlebar, Ballinrobe, Tuam, and Athenry, is 50.

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No. XXIX.

LETTER from a ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN of the Dioceſe of CORK.

SIR,

CONCEIVING, from ſome expreſſions which dropped from you when I had the honor of ſeeing you a few days ago, at Coolmore, that a faithful ſtatement of the ſituation of the Roman Catholic clergy of this country would not be unacceptable to you, and deſirous to give you every information on a ſubject, the minutiæ of which are known ſolely to the clergy, I take the liberty of ſending you a ſketch of their truly degraded ſtate, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, but which is not, I fear, as comprehenſive as you may require.

The Roman Catholic church of Ireland is compoſed of four archbiſhops and 22 biſhops. The archbiſhops take their titles, as in the Eſtabliſhed Church, from Armagh, Dublin, Caſhel, and Tuam. Of the biſhops eight are ſuffragans of Armagh, and are thoſe of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath, and Raphoe. Dublin has but three ſuffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Oſſory. Six are ſuffragans to Caſhel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Roſs, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick, and Waterford and Liſmore. Four are ſubject to Tuam, viz. Achonry, Clonfert, Elphin, and Killala. There is beſides theſe the biſhop of the united dioceſſes of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, the one in Connaught, the other in Munſter, who is alternately ſuffragan of Tuam and Caſhel.

As in the Eſtabliſhed Church, we alſo have a dignitary in Galway called a *Warden*, who has nearly epiſcopal juriſdiction, and is no farther ſubject to higher powers than that he is liable to the triennial viſitation of the archbiſhop of Tuam.

Every biſhop has a vicar-general of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante beneplacito*, and whoſe juriſdiction ceaſes on the death of the prelate.

Every dioceſs has alſo a dean, appointed by the *cardinal protector*, i. e. that cardinal in Rome who has the peculiar direction of all eccleſiaſtical matters appertaining to Ireland: and alſo an archdeacon, named by the biſhop. Theſe two are mere nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

On the death of a biſhop, the clergy of the dioceſs are empowered by the canon law to elect a *vicar capitular*, who is inveſted, during the vacancy of the ſee, with epiſcopal juriſdiction: but if ſuch election does not take place within a ſpecified number of days after the demiſe of the biſhop has been notified to them, the archbiſhop of the province may appoint of his own authority the vicar.

The clergy in the mean time aſſemble, and fix their choice on one of their own body, or ſometimes on a ſtranger, and petition the pope, or (in technical language) *poſtulate*, that he may be appointed to the vacant ſee.

The biſhops alſo of the province conſult each other, and unite in preſenting to the pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is uſually appointed; for the recommendation of the prelates has always more weight in Rome than the poſtulation of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Iriſh biſhops lies in the cardinals who compoſe the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. It takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday is ſubmitted by their ſecretary to the pope, who may confirm or annul the nomination at will; it very rarely, however, happens that he does not confirm it.

It formerly, ſometimes, happened that Iriſh officers, in the ſervice of foreign princes, influenced, in a great meaſure, through the recommendation of their courts, the congregation to the nomination of their friends and relatives. But as many inconveniences and abuſes were diſcovered to ariſe from ſuch influence, the congregation iſſued a decree (I believe in 1785), in virtue of which no foreign recommendation was in future to be attended to.

There is a cuſtom common in all Roman Catholic countries, and frequently practiſed in Ireland, which, I believe, is not known in the Eſtabliſhed Church, that of appointing aſſiſtant or coadjutor-biſhops. In the event of old age, infirmity, or any accidental viſitation of heaven, whereby a biſhop is rendered incapable of attending to the laborious duties of his ſtation, he may chuſe any meritorious clergyman to be his coadjutor, and to ſucceed him at his death. His recommendation is almoſt invariably attended to in Rome, the object of his choice.

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choice is appointed and conſecrated, taking his title from ſome oriental dioceſs, which title he relinquiſhes on his ſucceeding at the death of the old or infirm biſhop whom he was appointed to aſſiſt. While retaining the oriental title, though in character, and by conſecration a biſhop, he is called a biſhop *in partibus*, becauſe the ſee, from which he takes his deſignation, being under the dominion of ſome eaſtern power, is ſtiled, in the language of the office from which the bull of appointment is iſſued, to be *in partibus infidelium*.

The emoluments of the biſhop ariſe from three ſources, his pariſh, which is uſually the beſt in the dioceſs, the licences, and the cathedraticum.

Of the pariſh emoluments I ſhall ſpeak when treating of pariſh prieſts.

The licence is a diſpenſation granted by the biſhop in the publication of banns, for which a ſum, never leſs than a crown, and according to the abilities of the parties, amounting at times to half-a-guinea, or a guinea is paid. And as it very ſeldom happens that the parties are inclined to have the banns publiſhed, the generality are married by licence, which adds very conſiderably to the epiſcopal revenue.

The cathedraticum is a yearly ſum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each pariſh prieſt to the biſhop, in proportion to the value of his pariſh, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the epiſcopal dignity. There is no law to enforce this tribute, nor no obligation of paying it; yet it is a very ancient practice, and is never omitted.

Pariſh prieſts are appointed ſolely by the biſhop, and if collated, or having three years peaceable poſſeſſion, they cannot be diſpoſſeſſed, otherwiſe they may be removed at pleaſure. A collation is a written appointment, ſigned by the biſhop, by which he confers a pariſh on a clergyman, and confides it indefinitely to his care.

Coadjutors or curates are appointed alſo by the biſhop, and are moveable at will.

The pariſh prieſt is ſupported by voluntary contributions, if that can be called voluntary which is eſtabliſhed by ancient cuſtom and general prevalence. His income ſprings from various ſources. From *Eaſter* and *Chriſtmas* dues. Theſe conſiſt in a certain ſum paid by the head of every family to the pariſh prieſt for his ſupport, and in conſideration of his trouble in catechizing, inſtructing, and hearing the confeſſions of his family. The ſum is greater or ſmaller in proportion to the circumſtances of the pariſhioner. In the country pariſhes it is general a ſhilling at Eaſter, and a ſhilling at Chriſtmas: ſome give half-a-crown, ſome a crown, and ſome few a guinea a-year. There is no general eccleſiaſtical law to enforce the payment of theſe trifles: but as the mode was ſtruck out in what has been denominated the council of Kilkenny, under Rinnuccini, it has continued ever ſince to be practiſed, and from cuſtom has acquired the force of law.

Weddings.—The ſum to be paid at theſe is different in different dioceſes. In the dioceſe of Cork, by an order of the Biſhop, no clergyman is warranted in demanding more from the parties than half-a-guinea; yet the uſual ſum univerſally given by the bridegroom is a guinea, in addition to which a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties who have been invited, for the benefit of the pariſh prieſt.

The parochial fee for each chriſtening is two ſhillings, or half-a-crown; beſides which the ſponſors uſually give ſomething more. Some trifle is generally given for viſiting the ſick; a ſhilling uſually in the country.

In ſome parts of the country cuſtom has eſtabliſhed, that a certain quantity of hay and oats is ſent by the more opulent pariſhioners to the clergyman; that his turf ſhould be cut, his corn reaped, his meadow mowed, &c. gratis; and I have been credibly informed that in ſome parts of Ireland, bordering on the ſea coaſt, a certain quantity of fiſh is given to the prieſt, in lieu of parochial dues.

The retribution for each maſs is in this dioceſs two ſhillings; it is more or leſs elſewhere. But if maſs ſhould be ſaid at the houſe of a pariſhioner, at his own requeſt, he uſually gives the clergyman a crown.

The general ſtipend of the curate is the third part of the general receipts of the pariſh. But in ſome inſtances, ſuch as where the pariſh prieſt is old, infirm, or unacquainted with Iriſh, and conſequently incapable of leſſening in any great degree the labour of the curate, the latter frequently receives half the parochial emoluments.

Stations are meetings at ſome commodious houſe, appointed by the prieſt, for the convenience of ſuch people as live at a diſtance from the chapel, where he hears their confeſſions, gives them communion, catechizes the children, &c. and it is at theſe half yearly meetings that he receives his Eaſter and Chriſtmas dues.

A cuſtom, originating, I ſuppoſe, either in the poverty of the prieſt, and his conſequent inability to provide for himſelf, or in the hoſpitality of the Iriſh character, has from time immemorial exiſted, that a dinner is prepared for the prieſt at every houſe where he appoints a ſtation, to which the houſeholder's friends and neighbours are alſo invited. The bad effects of this cuſtom are ſo glaring, that I have in my pariſh, though not without conſiderable difficulty, aboliſhed it, and ſhould indeed moſt cordially wiſh that the abolition were univerſal. For beſides that drunkenneſs is the general conſequence of ſuch convivial meetings, the coſt is very ſerious to the entertainer; and as there is no inconſiderable degree of proud emulation amongſt

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amongſt the people in this particular, it not unfrequently happens that expences are incurred, to which the abilities of ſome are not always equal. Add to this the improbability of that decorum being preſerved in thoſe ſituations which the preſence of their clergyman demands from the people; and the danger that either his reſerve may be conſtrued into pride, or his want of it produce ſuch familiarity as may render all his efforts at inſtruction, admonition, or reform, of no avail. Another bad conſequence (and in my mind of no ſmall weight) is, that as man gradually imbibes the ſentiments, and inſenſibly acquires the manners of thoſe with whom he aſſociates, the clergyman by his uninterrupted intercourſe with the lower orders of the community, may loſe that poliſh, which by education or obſervation he may have attained, and be by degrees totally unfitted for more ſelect ſociety.

The influence which the clergy formerly poſſeſſed over their flocks, and which was for a long ſeries of years proverbial, was conſiderably diminiſhed by the relaxation of the popery laws; it thenceforward continued gradually to decline, and received at length the *coup de grace* by the White Boy diſturbances in 1786. At that period not only all former influence was loſt, but even that confidence in their clergy, without which all their exertions muſt prove abortive, ceaſed in a great meaſure to exiſt among the people. Nor was it till the rebellion, and its conſequent irritations and antipathies, opened their eyes, that this confidence began again to revive. The people then perceived that their prieſts were, in common with themſelves, objects of perſecution to one party, and of diſregard and deriſion to the other; and that, though ſome of them had been unfortunately implicated, and ſome few deeply engaged in the rebellion, *all* were accuſed or ſuſpected, and all condemned by party enthuſiaſm to one general, comprehenſive, indiſcriminate execration. They now, indeed, gratefully acknowledge, that to the admonitions of the clergy they are in a great degree indebted for having eſcaped the many miſeries endured in the diſturbed and rebellious parts of the kingdom, and are, I believe, at this moment more amenable than for twenty years back. The influence of the clergy is, however, ſtill inconſiderable, indeed, if compared to what it was half a century ago; though never, perhaps (at leaſt in this dioceſe) were the powers and energies of the clergy more forcibly and uniformly exerted in inſtructing, and particularly in catechizing, and attending to the minds and morals of the riſing generation, than ſince the White Boy combination alluded to.

I have unintentionally ſtrayed away from my original purpoſe, which was merely to exhibit in detail the poor and uncomfortable ſituation of the Roman Catholic clergy of this country. To the precarious and unſatisfactory nature of their ſubſiſtence it may, I think, be attributed, that comparatively few men of genteel connections, or early education belong to the body. For as parents naturally look forward in the eſtabliſhment of their children to their comfort and affluence, it is not to be ſuppoſed that a man of opulence or reſpectability will educate his ſon for a ſtate of life which preſents nothing to his view but drudgery and dependance. And, therefore, it is highly probable, that, until ſome more deſirable mode of proviſion ſhall be ſtruck out for the Roman Catholic clergy, they will continue in general to ſpring from the inferior orders of ſociety.

It was, I have heard, in the contemplation of the late miniſtry to add to their comforts by a liberal proviſion, proportioned to their reſpective rank and dignity in the church. But, however praiſe-worthy ſuch intention may have been, and however beneficial in ſome points of view it may be conſidered, I muſt individually acknowledge, that to me ſuch a proviſion has hitherto preſented inſuperable objections. The immediate conſequence of the propoſed plan would be, in my conception of events, the total annihilation of that confidence which the people ſhould repoſe in their clergy, and without which the moſt ſanguine efforts of theſe in their profeſſional character muſt be ineffectual. It would, beſides, moſt unqueſtionably, in many inſtances, be productive in the clergy of inactivity and negligence in the diſcharge of their duties. For as the prieſt has all the feelings, and ſometimes many of the failings of human nature about him, can it be ſuppoſed that he will work with as much ardour for a maintenance, when it is ſecured to him from the Treaſury, as he now does, when he is well aware that his livelihood depends on his own exertions? Is it not alſo poſſible, as it invariably happens wherever there is an eſtabliſhed church (be its tenets and creed of whatever complexion you pleaſe), that the proſpect of independance and reſpectability, rather than a view to the promotion of morality and religion, may allure to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate? And that many, totally unqualified for the ſacred profeſſion, either through want of piety or learning, may thus force themſelves into the miniſtry, to the diſgrace and degradation of religion?

'Tis true, that, were the Roman Catholic clergyman independant of his flock, and not hanging, as is now the caſe, on their benevolence for his ſupport, he might admoniſh with more authority his people, and without being ſuſpected, as ſometimes now happens, of intereſted views in urging them to the performance of their religious duties. But it is not to me very clear whether, were he paid or provided for by the Treaſury, his advice and exhortations would not ſound in the ears of his people more like the ſentiments of a hireling, or a government ſpy, than the pure and diſintereſted effuſions of a Chriſtian paſtor. At all events, though I have long revolved the ſubject, and maturely conſidered it under all its bearings, with as much impartiality and at-

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tention as I could beſtow upon it, I cannot for my part bring myſelf to reliſh the idea; I am, indeed, ſo heartily diſguſted with innovations and revolutions of every kind, that I ſhould prefer, by many degrees, the highly exceptionable and degraded footing on which I have hitherto, as a Roman Catholic clergyman, exiſted, to the riſk of the many ſerious evils which poſſibly might, and would very probably, ariſe from ſuch a change.

I have, you perceive, Sir, travelled *tout bonnement* over a great deal of ground. To an ordinary man I ſhould feel inclined to make an apology for my intruſion: but when I reflect, that, however intereſting otherwiſe the ſubject may be, it is to a patriot a matter by no means irrelevant to be intimately acquainted with the nature of the ſituation of a body of men, by whoſe principles and conduct the great majority of his country is guided, I ſhould conſider it idle to offer it. And though in the preſent ſtate of things in this country it might by the generality of people be conſidered as ideotiſm, to you I do not heſitate to declare, that, making every due allowance for the birth, deficiency of early education, want of knowledge of the world, and the many other ſubſtantial diſadvantages, with which the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland have to contend, their morality and good conduct in general is ſuch, that however the deriſion and contempt of the world may attach to them, I have ever felt a conſcious pride in belonging to the body.

For the liberty I have taken I ſhall not offer an apology, as it has been cauſed ſolely by your own condeſcenſion, in hinting ſomething not unlike a wiſh to be informed of the minutiæ which I have here detailed. I ſhall, therefore, abruptly have done, by aſſuring you of the ſincerity with which I have the honour to be,

Sir,

June 12, 1806. Your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

* * * * * * * * *

Thomas Newenham, Eſq. Coolmore.

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No. XXX.

A LIST of Perſons ſentenced, in the County of CORK, during forty Years, to be hanged or tranſported: together with an Account of their Offences.

Years.	Perſons executed.	Crimes.
1767	Thomas Carroll	Cow-ſtealing
	Jeffery Purcell	Murder
	John Ankle	Murder
1769	William Stackpole	Robbery
1771	Robert Grady	Feloniouſly killing a calf
	John Sullivan	Sheep-ſtealing
1772	Jeremiah Sullivan	Highway robbery
	James Conway, Michael Caſhman, William Burke	Houſe robbery
1773	William Henneſſy	Robbery
	Owen Collody	Cow ſtealing
1774	John Rohan	Murder
	Cornelius Carthy, otherwiſe Duff, Dennis Carthy, otherwiſe Duff, Daniel Carthy, otherwiſe Duff	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Carthy the younger	Do. do.
1775	Laurence Kennedy	Murder of his father
1776	Darby Murphy	Horſe-ſtealing
	Edward Wiſeman	Murder of Daniel Riordan
1777	John Henley otherwiſe Grady	Felony on White-Boy Act
	Owen Sullivan	The like
	Robert Damer	Highway robbery
1778	Timothy Deſha	Burglary and felony
	John Meade, Mathew Duggan	Burglary and felony
1779	William Donovan	Cow-ſtealing
	Silveſter Shanahan	Houſe robbery
	James Roche	Sheep-ſtealing
1780	Robert Bible	Forcible poſſeſſion
	Henry M'Neil	Murder of Patrick Bohilly
	Patrick Sullivan	Murder of Richard Sullivan
	Daniel Danahy	Murder of Denis Donovan
1781	Michael Scannell	Burglary and felony
	John Dawly, Julian Geran	Murder of James Geran
1782	John Green	Murder of Lydia Boundy
	David Traſnane, Thomas Barry, Dennis Linnehan, John Coleman	Burglary and felony
	Maurice Barry, Bartholomew Leonard	Do. do.
1783	Arthur Leary, Peter Kelly	Do. do.
1784	Daniel Neal	Murder of John Keleher
	Maurice Lacy	Highway robbery
1785	Dermod Madden	Do.
	John Hymud	Horſe-ſtealing
	John Luoney	Murder of Timothy Donovan
	Hugh Lawler	Cow-ſtealing

Year.	Perſons tranſported.	Crimes.
1773	John Bell	Houſe robbery
	Silveſter Driſcoll	Sheep-ſtealing
1774	Patrick Fitzgibbon	Do.
	John Deſmond	Houſe robbery
	Patrick Henly	Burglary and felony
	Michael Cohan	Cow-ſtealing
	James Kidney	Sheep-ſtealing
	Daniel Badee	Burglary and felony
1775	Martin Doyle	Houſe robbery
	John Mahony	Do.
	Jeremiah M'Carthy	Pig-ſtealing
	Edmond Scanlon	Burglary and felony
	Darby Buckley	Houſe robbery
	Andrew Creagh	Horſe-ſtealing
	John M'Auliff	Picking pockets
1776	Dennis Donahy, William Fox	Preſented as vagabonds
1777	Matthew M'Koy	Cow-ſtealing
	Edmond Kennelly	Sheep-ſtealing
	Darby Collins	Burglary and felony
1778	Andrew Bruſnahan	Sheep-ſtealing
	Philip Roach	Horſe-ſtealing
1779	Mary Duane	Grand larceny
	Thomas Mahony	Burglary and felony
1780	James Juſtice, John Lees	Highway robbery
	Dennis Corkeran	Cow-ſtealing
1781	Catharine Donoghue	Murder of James Geran
	John Shea	Burglary and felony
	Owen Conner	Do. do.
	Marks Cornby	Felony on Chalking Act
1783	James Kingſton	Sheep-ſtealing
	James Walſh	Horſe-ſtealing
1785	Patrick Ready	Houſe robbery
	Mary Archdeacon, Margaret Leary	Do. Do.
	William Quinlan	Sheep-ſtealing
	David Croneen	Cow-ſtealing
	John Burke	Horſe-ſtealing
	Timothy Tuohig	Cow-ſtealing
1786	John Edmonds	Horſe-ſtealing
	Edmond Sweeny	Houſe-robbery
	Dennis Sullivan	Horſe-ſtealing
	Dennis Duane, John Dealy	Houſe robbery
1787	Michael Lynch	Burglary and felony
	John Hegarty, John Leary	Houſe robbery
	James M'Nelly	Picking pockets
	Henry Sidley, otherwiſe Captain Sidley	Adminiſtering oaths
	Michael Cooly	Felony on White-Boy Act
	John Shepherd, otherwiſe Barry	Horſe ſtealing

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No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.

Years	Perſons executed.	Crimes.
	John Mahony, otherwiſe Captain Fearnought	Burglary and felony
1786	Edward Hourahan	Murder of Mr. Jackſon
	William Barry	Burglary and felony
1787	Dennis Organ	Do. do.
	James Driſcoll	
	Dennis Reilly	
	Patrick Powell	Murder of John Curran, his wife, and two children
	John Caſey	Highway robbery
1788	Patrick Clanchy	Burglary and felony
	Owen M'Gwire	
	John Sullivan	Do. do.
	James Mahony	
	William Hendley	
	Thomas Neale	
	Laurence White	
1789	James Scanlon	Felony on White-Boy Act
	Edmond Murphy	
	Dennis Murphy	
	Daniel Dawly	Murder of Denis M'Carthy
1790	Patrick Reddin	Burglary and felony
1791	Joſeph Radley	Murder of James Hurly
	Timothy Currig	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Bryan	The like
	Laurence Hogan	Houſe robbery
1792	Daniel Murphy	Murder of Denis Sullivan
1794	Timothy Sheehan	Do. of Maria Roberts
1796	James Daly	Highway robbery
	Henry Kane	
	Dennis Duane	Murder of Mr. O'Connor
1797	John Barry	Burglary and felony
1798	William Barry	
	John Hoy	Murder of Richard St. George
	Timothy Hickey	Manſergh St. George, and
	Patrick Hynes	Jaſper Uniacke
	John Ahern	Conſpiracy to murder Thomas Burke
	Stephen Moyles	
	Richard Mooreen	
	John Claney	
	Timothy Carthy	Felony on White-Boy Act
	Benjamin Brennan	Conſpiracy to murder John Courtney, Eſq.
	William Garde	
	Michael Garde	
	John Boland	
	William Kearney	
	James Tehane	Burglary and felony
	Timothy Sheehan	Burglaries and felonies
	Darby Keleher	
	Daniel Keleher	
	Dennis Keleher	
	William Murphy	
	Michael Sheehan	
	Darby Corkoran	
	Robert Walſh	Conſpiracy to murder Patrick Murphy
	Patrick Shanahaw	
	Dennis Sullivan, otherwiſe Ginger	Burglary and felony
	Cornelius O'Donnell	A rape
	Daniel Rourke	Burglary and felony

Years.	Perſons tranſported.	Crimes.
1787	Michael Riordan	Burglary and felony
	John Lean	Murder of Joane Crowly
1788	John Lyne	Burglary and felony
	Cornelius Cullinane	
	Dennis Cullinane	Do.
	Ellen Burke	Houſe robbery
	John Woodhouſe	Do.
	Timothy Martin	Do.
	Mary Ahern	Stealing wearing apparel
	Daniel Bryan, otherwiſe Ryan	Horſe-ſtealing
1789	Dennis O'Brien	Cow-ſtealing
	Charles Carthy	
	Thomas Tobin	Carrying away Mary Vale
	John Hallahan	Cow-ſtealing
1790	Dennis Driſcoll	Robbing a bleach green
	Samuel Kingſton	Sheep-ſtealing
	Michael Lynch	Burglary and felony
1791	Mary Bergin, otherwiſe Armſtrong	Picking pockets
	Michael Kenny	Houſe robbery
	John Scott	Burglary and felony
	John Spears	Houſe robbery
	Mary Ahern	Do.
	Cornelius Ryan	Perjury
	Daniel Collins, otherwiſe Cronagh	Burglary and felony
	Catharine Condron	Houſe robbery
	Dennis Crowly	Sheep-ſtealing
1792	Patrick Sullivan	Houſe-robbery
	George Boyd	Picking pockets
1793	Thomas Fitzgerald	Adminiſtering oaths
	Dennis Guiry	
	Laurence Daly	Pig-ſtealing
	Bath. Donovan	Sheep-ſtealing
	Darby Cohane	Do.
	Timothy Buckley	Do.
	William Sexton, otherwiſe Traſnane	Horſe-ſtealing
1794	John Stack	Cow-ſtealing
	Daniel Mahony	Do.
	Francis Deane	Coining
	John Brien	Adminiſtering oaths
	William Savage	Sheep-ſtealing
	John Griffin	Houſe robbery
	Dennis Sullivan	Adminiſtering oaths
	John Keleher	Do.
	William Neale	Cow-ſtealing
	John Enraghty	Adminiſtering oaths
	William Magrath	
	Dennis M'Carthy	Bigamy
	John Downing	Perjury
	Terence Sweeny	Cow-ſtealing.
	Humphry Moore	Highway robbery
	Edward Smith	
	James Smith	
	Michael Conway	Burglary and felony
1795	John Bennett	Plundering a veſſel
	Thomas Hayes	Houſe robbery
	John Eagar	Adminiſtering oaths
	William Clarke	Houſe robbery

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No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.

Years.	Perſons executed.	Crimes.
800	John Fox -	Murder of Mathew Burke
	Patrick Mullane -	
	James Sullivan -	Do. of Michael M'Carthy
1801	John Sullivan -	and Timothy M'Carthy
	John Cohane -	Burglary and felony
	Edmund Barry -	Do. do.
	Daniel Riordan -	Do. do.
	John Roberts -	
	James Young -	Do. do.
	Timothy Falvey -	Houſe robbery
	Humphry Crowly -	
1802	David Breen -	Murder of Robert Hutchinſon
1803	William Dahill -	Burglary and felony
	John Regan, otherwiſe Down	Do. do.
1805	David Clearly -	Murder of John Corkeran
	Timothy Buckley -	Carrying away Catharine Deſmond
	Willlam Penfold, otherwiſe Pimpole -	Murder of Timothy Lyon
	John Mahony -	Murder of Cornelius Danahy
	William Sampſon -	Carrying away Mar. Biery
	Patrick Regan -	Murder of his wife
	John Leaa -	Carrying away Ann Fitzgerald.
	Edmond Morton -	Horſe-ſtealing
1806	William Irvin	Murder of Francis Cullen

Years.	Perſons tranſported.	Crimes.
1795	Darby Conner -	Murder of Cornelius Coakly
	Julian Connor -	Houſe robbery
1797	Mary Donoghue -	Stealing frize
	John M'Cann -	Cow-ſtealing
	William Ryves -	
	John Cronin -	Burglary and felony
1798	Roger Brien -	Houſe robbery
	John Wholohan -	
	Michael Fitzgerald -	Adminiſtering oaths
	Jeremiah Conner -	Taking an unlawful oath
	Henry Forbes -	Perjury
	William Haly -	Adminiſtering oaths
	Dennis Sullivan -	Do.
	David Keeffe -	Do.
	Francis Fowlue -	Do.
	George Walſh -	
	William Fowlue -	
	William Joyce -	
	Timothy Kavenagh -	Felony on Chalking Act
	Jeremiah Tehane -	Burglary and felony
	Corneliuſs Sullivan —	Adminiſtering oaths
	John Shea -	
	Edmond Brooks -	
	John Brooks -	
	Daniel M'Grath Sullivan	
	Dennis M'Grath Fitzgerald	
	Cornelius Keath Sullivan	
	Michael Connors -	Felony on White-Boy act
	John Bruſnahan -	
	Patrick Dooling -	
	James Curtin -	
	Patrick Keeffe -	
	David Gibbon -	
	Edmund Ruſſell -	
	John Deſmond -	
	William Deſmond -	Adminiſtering oaths
	Darby Sullivan -	Felony under White-Boy Act
	Anthony Clarke -	Picking pockets
	Ellen Wheelan -	
1799	Florence Driſcoll -	Uttering forged notes
	John Linnehan -	Do.
	Michael Roche -	Do.
	Honora Fitzgerald -	Grand larceny
	John Walſh -	Sheep-ſtealng
	John Kennedy -	Horſe-ſtealing
	James Carthy -	Perjury
	Cornelius O'Leary -	Horſe-ſtealing
	Mary Connelly -	Stealing wearing apparel
1800	James Murphy -	Sheep-ſtealing
	Thomas Caſey -	Forgery
	Daniel Sheehan -	Burglary and felony
	Daniel Deaſhy -	
	William Driſcoll -	Perjury
	Bartholomew Sullivan -	Horſe-ſtealing
1801	Dennis Deſmond -	Cow-ſtealing
	Daniel Riordane -	Do.
	Daniel M'Carthy -	Do.
	Darby Cronikane -	Burglary and felony

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No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.

Years.	Persons transported.	Crimes.
1801	Patrick Cullinane	Uttering forged notes
	James Barry	Burglary and felony
	John Mynehane	Receiving stolen goods
	James Grace	Perjury
	James Carthy, Maurice Brien	Grand larceny
	John Fowlue	Conspiracy to murder John Courtney, Esquire
	William Hegarty	Burglary and felony
	Daniel Carthy, otherwise Rock	Highway robbery
1802	William Mahony, otherwise Hallesig	Uttering forged notes
1803	Thomas Shananan	Highway robbery
	Patrick Donovan, Thomas Murphy, John Murphy	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Lordan, John De Courcy	Do. do.
	Thomas Sullivan, Timothy Sullivan	Highway robbery
1804	Bartholomew Donovan	Burglary and felony
	James Lyne	Sheep-stealing
	Richard Stanton	Horse-stealing
	Dennis Leary	House-robbery
	Darby Donovan	Conspiracy to murder John Courtney, esquire
	James Browne	Cow-stealing
	Adam Hamilton	Grand larceny
	Timothy Hurley	Burglary and felony
	John M'Carthy	House robbery
	Daniel Twohig	Perjury
1805	Edmond Hickson	Robbing a bleach green
1806	Jeremiah Callaghan	Cow-stealing
	John Russell	Pig-stealing
	William Gully	House robbery
	Patrick Cadogan	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Shea	Stealing flour
	John Sullivan	Cow-stealing

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No. XXX.—continued.

ABSTRACT of the foregoing Liſt of Perſons ſentenced, in the County of CORK, to be hanged or tranſported, during 40 Years, ending with the Year 1806.

Years.	Hanged.	Crimes.		Tranſported.		
		Murder.	Burglary, Theft, &c.		Murder.	
1767	3	2	1	—		
8	—	—	—	—		
9	1	—	1	—		
1770	—	—	—	—		
1	2	—	2	—		
2	4	—	4	—		
3	2	—	2	2		
4	5	1	4	6		
5	1	1	—	7		
6	2	1	1	2		
7	3	—	3	3		
8	3	—	3	2		
9	3	—	3	2		
1780	3	2	1	3		
1	3	2	1	4	1	
2	7	1	6	—	Female for the murder of a man.	No woman charged in 40 years with the murder of her baſtard child, nor man with Sodomy, or any other unnatural crime.
3	2	—	2	2		
4	2	1	1	—		
5	4	1	3	7		
6	3	2	1	5		
7	5	1	4	9		
8	7	—	7	8		
9	4	1	3	5		
1790	1	—	1	2		
1	4	1	3	9		
2	1	1	—	5	1	
3	—	—	—	4		
4	1	1	—	18		
5	—	—	—	6		
6	3	1	2	—		
7	2	—	2	4		
*8	24	3	21	33		* Year of the Rebellion.
9	1	Rape	—	9		
1800	4	3	1	6		
1	8	—	8	13		
2	1	1	—	1		
3	2	—	2	48		
4	—	—	—	10		
5	8	4	4	1		
6	1	1	—	6		
Total 130 Tranſported		32 3 —	98	202	3	
		35				

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No. XXX.—continued.

NUMBER of PERSONS convicted, in the ſeveral Counties and Cities of IRELAND, in the Year 1807.

Counties.	Sentences.			
		Death.	Tranſportation.	Convicted of Murder.
Antrim	27	2	7	—
Armagh	19	—	5	—
Carlow	3	2	—	2
Cavan	6	4	—	2
Clare	5	1	1	—
Cork, County and City	37	2	1	1
Donegal	2	1	—	1
Down	11	—	3	—
Dublin, County and City	272	28	81	2
Fermanagh	10	3	2	—
Galway, County and Town	11	2	—	1
Kerry	5	1	1	—
Kildare	14	3	2	—
Kilkenny, County and City	17	1	2	—
King's	4	—	—	—
Leitrim	1	1	—	1
Limerick	18	5	—	4
Londonderry	9	—	—	—
Longford	16	1	1	1
Louth and Drogheda	16	—	1	—
Mayo	21	2	1	1
Meath	14	2	6	—
Monaghan	14	1	3	1
Queen's	15	3	—	—
Roſcommon	12	2	3	—
Sligo	13	11	—	—
Tipperary	16	2	4	1
Tyrone	8	2	—	—
Waterford	5	—	1	—
Weſtmeath	13	1	2	—
Wexford	5	2	1	—
Wicklow	13	2	3	—
Totals	653	87	131	18

The number of perſons ordered for tranſportation in the ſeven years, ended in 1743, was 1,890, or 270, on an average, each year. The population of Ireland, in that year, did not much exceed two millions.

ANNUAL PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS.

To defray the Expences of Criminal Proſecutions.				For apprehending Public Offenders.
Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 5th January.	£.	
1794	12,000	1801	25,000	
1795	15,000	1802	25,000	
1796	20,000	1803	25,000	
1797	25,000	1804	25,000	£.
1798	25,000	1805	25,000	5,000
1799	25,000	1806	25,000	2,500
1800	25,000	1807	25,000	2,500
		1808	25,000	2,500

Total for criminal Proſecutions — £347,000

Total for apprehending Public Offenders — £12,500

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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